

“The blue book”; woman suffrage, history, arguments and results, edited by Frances M. Björkman and Annie G. Porritt

Woman Suffrage HISTORY ARGUMENTS RESULTS

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The Spirit of Democracy

“Democracy is not merely a form of government; it is a great spiritual force emanating from the heart of the Infinite, permeating, the universe and transforming the lives of men and women until the day comes when it shall take possession of them and shall govern their lives. Then will men be fitted to lift their faces to the source from whence the spirit of democracy flows, and answer back in the spirit, in their recognition of that fundamental principle of democracy; ‘One is our Father, even God, and we are members one of another.’ And as soon as the spirit of democracy takes possession of us, we shall not quibble as to whether it is male or female, bond or free. Jew or Greek! We shall recognize only that every child has an equal right with every other human child of God, in the things that belong to God. Liberty, Justice, Freedom belong alike to God's human children.”—Dr. ANNA HOWARD SHAW.

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ADDENDA 1917

See page 72 for gains made early in 1917.

In September the Woman Suffrage Committee of the House of Representatives was created by a vote of 181 to 107.

In Ohio, a petition to refer the Presidential Bill to the people was circulated chiefly by the wet interests, and in spite of the fact that in 4 out of 6 counties examined, the petitions were thrown out as Fraudulent—further examination was refused and the women were deprived of Residential Suffrage by a referendum to male voters in November.

The Indiana law was declared unconstitutional in October and the women lost all but Presidential Suffrage in that State.

November 6th, however, saw a notable suffrage victory when the great State of New York gave full suffrage to women by a majority of about 100,000. This makes the 12th state to give women full suffrage—and add, approximately, one and a half million women to the enfranchised women of the United States.

A number of cities in Florida and Ohio also gave women the municipal vote by charter amendment.

In England in June, 1917, the Representation of the People Bill passed its third reading in the British House of Commons. This bill, which is a government measure and is expected to pass the House of Lords, will extend the vote to about six million women 30 years of age and over.

In Canada in September, 1917, a Bill was passed giving Parliamentary vote to all women, except those of alien enemy birth naturalized since 1902, who are mothers, wives, widows, sisters or daughters of soldiers.

In Mexico in November, 1917, the State of Guanajuato conferred the privilege of suffrage in all municipal matters upon women, the only restriction being that they must be of reputable character.

The recently adopted National Constitution of Mexico does not prohibit Woman Suffrage but by implication permits it, and the State of Guanajuato is the first to take advantage of this permission by granting the privilege in local affairs. It is believed that this example will shortly be followed in other states such as Yucatan.

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THE UNITED STATES History of the Movement

In the United States, as in Great Britain, there were sporadic movements for women's rights, and even demands for votes for women, long before there was an organized Movement for woman suffrage. Mistress Margaret Brent of Maryland, heir of Lord Calvert, demanded place and voice in the Legislature of Maryland in 1647, and her petition was seriously debated, from the point of view of the proper representation of the large property in her hands and not from the point of view of justice to her sex.

The historic protest of Mrs. Abigail Adams in 1776 may be taken as the first demand for representation of the part of a Woman for her sex. This demand was, however, not made in public but only in a letter to her husband, in which Mrs. Adams wrote: "I long to hear that you have declared an independency, and, by the way, in the new code of laws which I suppose it will be

necessary for you to make, I desire you would remember the ladies and be more generous and favorable to them than were your ancestors. Do not put such unlimited power into the hands of husbands. Remember all men would be tyrants if they could. If 6 particular care and attention are not paid to the ladies we are determined to foment a rebellion, and will not hold ourselves bound to obey any laws in which we have no voice or representation."

The only state which gave the right to vote to women after the Revolution was New Jersey. As a colony, Massachusetts permitted property-holding women to vote from 1691 to 1780, and under the New Jersey state constitution the Franchise was given to "all inhabitants worth \$250." The women retained the right only until 1807, when after some election scandals the men compromised their own shortcomings by virtuously depriving the women of the right to vote. The change was made by act of the legislature, an act which was clearly unconstitutional, as only by an amendment to the constitution could new qualifications be place on the franchise. The conduct of the legislators of New Jersey has been paralleled in later times. For example, several states compound for the drunkenness of men by placing restrictions of the serving of liquor to women.

Early Movement.

Two of the early pioneers of the suffrage movement were Frances Wright, who was associated with Robert Dale Owen, the Communist, in his colony at New Harmony, 7 and Ernestine L. Rose, a polish woman who came to this country in 1836. Both these women claimed equal rights for women, and in 1836-37 Ernestine Rose circulated a petition in Albany, N. Y., in favor of a married women's property law. She could obtain only five signatures, but she presented the petition to the Legislature, where thirteen years later was passed the first act having to married women the right to their own property. Since 1848, the whole of the English speaking world has followed the example of New York; but it was not until 1882 that England passed a married women's property act, and in some of the Southern states a married woman is still under serious legal disabilities in connection with her property rights.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Pauline Wright Davis and Lydia Mott had associated themselves with the movement for property rights for married woman. Before success crowned that movement, however, another movement had begun to attract much notice and to enlist the sympathies of many women. This was the movement for the abolition of slavery, in the starting of which the Grimke sisters of South Carolina had an important part. These two women liberated their slaves in 1828, and then underlook a mission to New England to advocate the right of the negroes to liberty.

Among the women who were active in this movement were Lydia Maria Child, Abby Kelly, Pauline Wright Davis, Lucretia Mott and Maria Weston Child. The question of allowing women the right to speak and vote in the meetings of the Anti-Slavery Association was so keenly opposed that it not only caused a division in the American movement but greatly disturbed the World's Anti-Slavery Convention which was held in London in 1840. The convention refused to recognize the women delegates, among whom were Lucretia Mott, Sarah Pugh, Abby Kimber, Elizabeth Neal, Mary Grew, Ann Green Phillips, Emily Winslow and Abby Southwick. William Lloyd Garrison, who arrived in London too late for the debate on the admission of the women, refused to take his seat and withdrew with the women to the galleries—thus, for the sake of the women, foregoing the opportunity of speaking on a subject so near his heart as the abolition of slavery.

Seneca Falls Convention.

Out of this Anti-Slavery convention of 1840 grew the design of holding a woman's right convention in America. Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton made the plans; and issued the call, with the co-operation of Martha C. Wright and Mary Ann McClintock. The convention was held at 9 Seneca Falls, N. Y., on July 19th, 1848 and partly through interest and partly through curiosity it was well attended. Although it had been planned that only women should be present, a number of men had been attracted, and this first woman's convention was presided over and officered by men.

A declaration of sentiments, modeled on the Declaration of Independence, had been drawn up by the women who called the convention. This was adopted and signed by one hundred of the men and women who attended the convention. This historic document—the first protest publicly made by women against their social and political subjection, is worth quoting in a history of the movement. Omitting the preamble, it reads:

“The history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man towards woman, having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her. To prove this let facts be submitted to a candid world.

“He has never permitted her to exercise her inalienable right to the elective franchise.

“He has compelled her to submit to laws in the formation of which she had no voice.

“He has withheld from her rights which 10 are given to the most ignorant and degraded men—both natives and foreigners.

"Having deprived her of this first right of a citizen, the elective franchise, thereby leaving her without representation in the halls of legislation, he has oppressed her on all sides.

"He has made her, if married, in the eye of the law, civilly dead.

"He has taken from her all right in property, even to the wage she earns.

"He has made her morally an irresponsible being, as she can commit many crimes with impunity, provided they be done in the presence of her husband. In the covenant of marriage she is compelled to promise obedience to her husband, he becoming to all intents and purposes her master—the law giving him power to deprive her of her liberty and to administer chastisement.

"He has so framed the laws of divorce, as to what shall be the proper causes, and in case of separation to whom the guardianship of the children shall be given, as to be wholly regardless of the happiness of women—the law in all cases going upon a false supposition of the supremacy of man, and giving all power into his hands.

"After depriving her of all rights as a married woman, if single and the power of property, he has taxed her to support a government which recognizes her only when her property can be made profitable to it.

"He has monopolized nearly all the profitable employments, and from those she is permitted to follow she receives but a scanty remuneration. He closes against her all the avenues to wealth and distinction which he considers most honorable to himself. As a teacher of theology, medicine or law, she is not known.

"He has denied her the facilities for obtaining a thorough education, all colleges being closed against her.

"He allows her in church, as well as state, but a subordinate position, claiming apostolic authority for her exclusion from the ministry, and with some exceptions from any public participation in the affairs of the church.

"He has created a false public sentiment, by giving to the world a different code of morals for men and women, by which moral delinquencies which exclude women from society are not only tolerated but deemed of little account in man.

"He has usurped the prerogative of Jehovah himself, claiming it as his right to assign for her a sphere of action, when that belongs to her conscience and her God.

"He has endeavored in every way that he could to destroy her confidence in her own powers, to lessen her self-respect, and to make her willing to lead a dependent and abject life.

"Now in view of this entire disfranchisement of one-half the people of this country, their social and religious degradation—in view of the unjust laws above mentioned and because women do feel themselves aggrieved, oppressed and fraudulently deprived of their most sacred rights, we insist that they have immediate admission to all the rights and privileges which belong to them as citizens of the United States.

"In entering upon the great work before us, we anticipate no small amount of misconception, misrepresentation and ridicule; but we shall use every instrumentality within our power to effect our object. We shall employ agents, circulate tracts, petition the state and national legislature, and endeavor to enlist the pulpit and press in our behalf."

The righteous indignation of these women is more clearly understood when it is recalled that, under the laws of that day, a man could deprive his wife of her liberty and beat her, provided the stick was no larger around than his thumb; that all a married woman's property and wages belonged to her husband, and she could not sign a business contract or make a will; that a mother had no legal right to her children unless they were illegitimate, and that in case of divorce, even if she were innocent, her children were taken from her.

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Most of the legal and social injustices and restrictions, enumerated in the Declaration, have been swept away in the nearly seventy years since the Seneca Falls Convention. But for most American women there still remains the primal injustice of government without representation. Property rights, the rights, the right to education, to entry into the professions, and to fuller opportunities in life could be granted without appealing to the individual voters for their consent. Had each of these rights required a referendum of the electors, it is probable that their concession would have been delayed as long as the concession of the ballot.

Suffragists of the present day have demands as urgent and as important for the community as the suffragists of 1848. But instead of asking their own liberation from oppressive laws, they are asking the right to help. Their demands are for the home, the children, the health of the community and its welfare, moral and physical.

There is still need to ask for equal opportunity and equal pay for equal work; but these demands are now put forward because the whole community—men as well as women and children—suffer, while the old injustices continue. The community needs the help of women, and women are asking for the suffrage because they are hampered and restricted until they obtain it.

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Changes Since Seneca Falls Convention.

The Seneca Falls Convention was so successful that it was adjourned to meet in Rochester. Although as yet there was no permanent organization of women working either for women's rights or woman suffrage, the suffrage movement can be definitely dated from the convention held at Seneca Falls on July 19 and 20, 1848.

Four years later, in 1852, a woman's rights convention, with delegates present from eight states and Canada, was held in Syracuse. From this convention dates the joint leadership of Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, which brought the movement out of the wilderness and into the honor won by its many success in ameliorating the position of women; though neither of these revered leaders was to live to see it crowned with full success.

Between the convention at Seneca Falls and that at Syracuse, a number of meetings and conventions had been held in which women took the leading part. There was a woman's rights convention in Salem, Ohio, on April 19th and 20th, 1850, in which Frances Dana Gage, Elizabeth Robinson, J. Elizabeth Jones and Josephine S. Griffing were the leading spirits. Ohio was then holding a constitutional convention, and to this convention the women sent a memorial 15 signed by nearly 8,000 men and women, calling attention to the unjust laws concerning married women and asking "not only the right of suffrage, but all the political and legal rights that are guaranteed to men." Another woman's rights convention was held in Akron, Ohio, in 1851, and in 1852 the first state suffrage association was formed at Massillon, Ohio. This organization held conventions annually in Ohio until the Civil War, and the conventions were resumed after the war was over.

Early Conventions.

Meanwhile considerable progress was made with the movement in Massachusetts. On October 23 and 24, 1850, a convention was held in Worcester, which was called to discuss the rights to women. Arrangements for this convention were made by Lucy Stone and Paulina Wright Davis. There were

men and women present from the states, and among the speaker were Garrison, Phillips, Douglass, Foster, Burleigh, Lucretia Mott, Ernestine Rose, Abby Kelly, Antoinette Brown, and Dr. Harriot K. Hunt. It was resolved to hold conventions annually and a committee was formed those duty it should be to arrange for such conventions.

In 1851 a woman's rights convention was also held in Dublin, Indiana. The constitution 16 of Indiana had been revised the previous year, and the new constitution gave to women more liberal rights than they had yet possessed in any state. This liberality was largely due to the influence of Robert Dale Owen, who was chairman of the Revision Committee. The changes were widely discussed and as a result a permanent woman's rights society was formed in Indiana under the leadership of Amanda M. Way, and Mrs. Hannah Hiatt, and annual conventions were held until the Civil War.

In Pennsylvania the first woman's rights convention was held in June, 1852, at Westchester. The movement there was largely due to the friends, among whom James and Lucretia Mott were specially prominent.

These various conventions were indications of an awakening among women that was going on all over the United States. About this time, however, the question of the extension of slavery became acute, and the thoughts and efforts of the men and women who were leaders in the equal rights movement were turned to the negroes. Almost every woman who had been prominent in these early movements for woman's rights gave herself to the struggle against negro slavery, and many of the men whose names are honored for their share in the liberation of the slaves are also remembered as early upholders of equal rights for women.

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Preference for the Negro.

At the end of the war, the suffrage leaders again took up work for women. But they found that even their friends were not willing to do anything for the women which would embarrass them in regard to their work for the negroes. When the XIV Amendment to the Constitution was drawn up, Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton were dismayed to find that in the second section the word male was introduced, the first introduction of the word into the United States Constitution, thus sanctioning the exclusion of women from the suffrage. This was in 1868. In the following year when the XV Amendment was before Congress a strong effort was made by the suffragists to obtain the insertion of the word sex, along with "race, color or previous condition of servitude," in order that the women might be enfranchised along with the negroes.

All their efforts were unavailing. Even their best friends bade them “stand aside for this is the negroes’ hour.” Some even of the women were unwilling to push their claims in the face of the warnings and promises made to them by the men who had so long professed to believe in equal rights for women.

One result of the preference shown to the negroes was the formation of the two great national woman suffrage associations. 18 Previous to 1869 there had been an Equal Rights Association which had for its object to promote the interests of both negroes and women. The XIII, XIV, and XV Amendments safeguarded the rights of the negroes, and it became necessary to form associations which had as their sole purpose to obtain the suffrage for women.

The National Woman Suffrage Association was formed at a convention in New York on May 15, 1869, and in November the American Woman Suffrage Association was organized in Cleveland, Ohio. Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony were the leaders in the National Association; Lucy Stone and Julia Ward Howe took the leadership of the American Association. The two associations differed chiefly, on the question of policy. Miss Anthony and Mrs. Cady Stanton considered the Federal Amendment the most important object of work, while Mrs. Howe and Lucy Stone thought it wiser to work for suffrage state by state. The National Association, however, gave hearty assistance in state campaigns, notably in the Kansas campaign of 1881.

One permanent victory marked the year 1869. The territory of Wyoming gave the vote to its women. It was a remote portion of the United States, but for twenty-four 19 years it was the sole region in which women were given equal political rights with men.

Enfranchisement by Amendment to United States Constitution.

For several years after 1869 some of the leading suffragists were convinced that women were enfranchised under the XIV Amendment-under the provision that “no state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States.” In 1872 Miss Anthony determined to make a test and with fifty other women she registered in Rochester, N. Y. On November 5th she cast her vote. For this crime she was prosecuted by the United States Government. She was fined \$100, a fine which she at once refused to pay and which was never exacted.

Another attempt was made to obtain the vote for women under the XIV Amendment. The case this time was carried to the Supreme Court, which decided against the claim made by Mrs. Virginia L.

Minor, that, as a citizen of the United States, the registrar in St. Louis, Mo., had no right to refuse to register her as a voter.

The decision of the Supreme Court ended attempts to obtain the vote under the XIV Amendment, and Miss Anthony then turned 20 her attention to securing the passage of a new amendment—one that should do for women what the XV Amendment had done for the Negroes. In 1875 she drew up a Federal Constitutional Amendment which reads as follows:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several states as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said constitution, namely:

Article —, Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

Sec. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article.

During the years that followed, suffragists directed their efforts towards obtaining the vote in two ways—through the states and by means of the Federal Amendment. The successes in the several states will be traced under each of the states. Miss Anthony worked as devotedly to help the women of the states to win the ballot as she worked for the favorable consideration of her amendment by Congress. Until very recently it was felt by most suffragists that the 21 state-by-state method alone offered any good prospects of success, and only since women have been enfranchised in twelve states has hope revived of the passage of the Federal Constitutional amendment.

Federal Constitutional Amendment.

The first introduction of the amendment in Congress was in the Senate on January 10, 1878, by Senator Sargent. In 1878 it was reported adversely to the Senate from committee; but in the following year the adverse report of the majority was accompanied by a favorable report from the minority of the committee. Since 1878, it has been introduced by the National Woman Suffrage Association in each succeeding Congress—Miss Anthony herself undertaking the burden of the work until 1890. In 1882 it won a favorable majority report from the Senate Committee, and in 1883 it was introduced in the House, where it also obtained a favorable majority report. It did not come to a vote in the Senate, however, until 1887, when after another favorable majority report it obtained 16

votes in favor to 34 votes against. There were favorable majority reports on it in the Senate in 1890 and 1892; but it was adversely reported in 1896, and it was not again reported from the Woman Suffrage Committee of the Senate until 1913. In that 22 year and again in 1914 and 1916, it went to the Senate with a favorable majority report.

In the House, after 1883, it did not again obtain a favorable majority report until 1890, and these two reports represent the only favorable majorities in the judiciary committee. There were favorable minority reports in 1884 and 1886; an adverse majority in 1894, and the amendment was reported without recommendation in 1914 and 1916.

Not until January 12, 1915, was the amendment voted upon in the House of Representatives. The Senate voted on it for the second time in March, 1914, when the vote stood 35 in favor to 34 opposed. In the House the vote, after a full day of debate, was 174 in favor and 204 opposed, lacking 78 of the number necessary for its passage.

National-American Woman Suffrage Association.

In the meantime the two suffrage associations had united under the name National-American Woman Suffrage Association. Mrs. Stanton was elected in 1890 president of the new organization, and Miss Anthony and Lucy Stone were both associated with her in its leadership. In 1892 Miss Anthony became president and Rev. Anna H. Shaw 23 vice-president. Miss Anthony remained at the head until 1900, when she was succeeded by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt. Four years later, Mrs. Catt was succeeded by Dr. Shaw, who remained in the presidency until 1915, when Mrs. Catt returned to the helm.

It was not until 1900 that the Association had regular headquarters in New York City. During its earlier years its business was conducted chiefly from Miss Anthony's home in Rochester, N. Y. In 1895, Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, who for twenty-one years was corresponding secretary of the Association, opened office headquarters in her home at Philadelphia. In 1903 the Association removed its headquarters to Warren, Ohio, where they were under the charge of Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton. Six years later the Association again made its home in New York, and since 1909 the work carried on from the headquarters of the National American Woman Suffrage Association has steadily increased in amount and importance.

Since December, 1912, the Congressional Committee of the Association has also had headquarters in Washington, and has carried on an active campaign for the Federal Suffrage Amendment. The

Association is now a federation of sixty-three suffrage organizations in forty-five states. It is affiliated with the International Alliance and its President, Mrs. Catt, is also President of the I. S. A.

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Where Women Vote By Frances M. Bjorkman and Annie G. Porritt.

The first modern recognition of the right of women to vote was in Kentucky, in 1838, when a very limited school suffrage was conferred on women. Since then about half of the states have granted some form of school suffrage to women and at the present time women can vote in Iowa on the issue of bonds (1894); in Minnesota for library trustees (1898); in Louisiana on matters involving special taxation (1898). In New York tax-paying women in the towns and villages were given a vote in 1901 on propositions calling for special taxation, and in 1910 the right was extended to the issuing of bonds.

In 1908, in response to a petition signed by 275,000 women, for full suffrage, the Michigan Legislature gave tax-paying women a very small measure of suffrage. The Legislature at that time doubted its power to give more, as an act providing for full municipal suffrage on the Kansas model, 25 which was passed in Michigan in 1893, had been pronounced unconstitutional.

In addition to these small measures of voting power, a number of towns and boroughs have given the franchise to women by means of charters. Among the recent additions to these are East Cleveland, Ohio, and Fellsmere, Cocoa, Clearwater and Delray, Florida; Milford and Newark, Delaware; Annapolis, Md., and Wrightsville, N. C., and in 1917, the town of Lookout Mountain, Tenn. Following are lists of the states which have granted partial or full suffrage to women. States are only mentioned in partial suffrage lists if this was granted before the women obtained full suffrage:

School suffrage:

Kentucky 1838

Kansas 1861

Michigan 1875

Minnesota 1875

Colorado 1876

New Hampshire 1878

Oregon 1878

Massachusetts 1879

Vermont 1880

New York 1880

Mississippi 1880

Nebraska 1883

Montana 1887

New Jersey 1887

North Dakota 1887

South Dakota 1887

Arizona 1887

Oklahoma 1890

Connecticut 1893

Ohio 1894

Delaware 1898

Wisconsin 1900

26

Suffrage on taxation or bonds:

Montana 1887

Iowa 1894

Louisiana 1898

New York 1901

Kansas 1903

Michigan 1908

Municipal suffrage:

Kansas 1887

Illinois 1913

North Dakota 1917

Indiana 1917

Vermont 1917

Nebraska 1917

Presidential suffrage:

Illinois 1913

Ohio 1917

North Dakota 1917

Indiana 1917

Rhode Island 1917

Michigan 1917

Nebraska 1917

Primary suffrage:

Arkansas 1917

Full suffrage:

Wyoming 1869

Colorado 1893

Utah 1896

Idaho 1896

Washington 1910

California 1911

Kansas 1912

Oregon 1912

Arizona 1912

Alaska 1913

Montana 1914

Nevada 1914

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WYOMING *

* "Wyoming—the Pioneer," by Lewis Edwin Theiss, in the Pictorial Review for Oct., 1913.

Full suffrage granted 1869

Population (1910) Total 145,965

Males over 21 63,201

Females over 21 28,840

Percentage of men to women 219.1

Total vote for President in 1912 42,296

Total vote for President in 1916 51,840

No election was ever held in this State at which women did not vote.

History.

Wyoming is the pioneer equal suffrage State in America, full political equality having been the basis of its government as long as it has had a government at all. Very significantly, the words "equal rights" form the motto on its State seal. The very first legislative council, after its organization as a territory, passed, in 1869, a bill providing that women should have the same rights as men to vote and hold office, and when it was admitted as a State in 1890, before any other State had given women the vote, equal suffrage was made a part of its Constitution.

During the early days of woman's enfranchisement in Wyoming several ineffectual attempts were made to secure a repeal, but for nearly half a century now the status of the women of Wyoming has been unquestioned in their own State. At the time statehood was applied for, a determined opposition was made in Congress to the admission of a territory with a woman suffrage clause in its Constitution. So violent was the feeling, that the territorial delegate in Congress, Joseph M. Carey, now Governor of the State, telegraphed the Legislature that he feared statehood would not be granted if the suffrage clause were not abandoned. The Legislature, which was then in session, telegraphed back: "We will remain out of the Union a hundred years, rather than come in without woman suffrage."

During the forty-five years that the measure has been in effect, every Governor has testified to its good effects, including the territorial Governors, who are appointed by the President, and are not, therefore, dependent upon votes.

In 1900 a petition was circulated in the State asking Congress to submit to the Legislatures of the various States a woman suffrage amendment to the Federal Constitution. This was signed by the Governor, the Secretary of State, the Auditor, State Superintendent of Schools, State Engineer, the Judges of the Supreme Court, the United States District Attorney, the United States Surveyor-General,

the Director and the Observer of the United States Weather Bureau, the Mayor of Cheyenne, and a long list of editors, ministers, lawyers, physicians, bankers, and the most prominent women of the State.

In 1893, and again in 1899, the House of Representatives adopted resolutions declaring that woman suffrage had been an unmixed advantage to the State. In 1901 the Legislature as a whole unanimously adopted similar resolutions and added an appeal to other States to adopt the measure as one tending toward the amelioration of all evil social conditions.

Extent of the Woman Vote.

In no one of the equal suffrage States of America—unlike the equal suffrage countries of Europe—have separate figures been kept for the number of women registering and voting. It is impossible, therefore, to give anything more than loose estimates of the proportion of eligible women in each State who actually go to the polls. Public officials, when asked for statistics on this point, almost invariably reply that women vote “in equal numbers with men,” or “in nearly equal numbers with men.” In a letter to Alice Stone Blackwell, published in *The Woman's Journal*, May 6, 1905, Fenimore Chatterton, Secretary of State for Wyoming, stated that ninety per cent. of the women vote, casting in all one-third 30 of the total number of ballots polled, women forming a minority of the population. In an interview, Hon. Joseph M. Carey, Governor of the State, said that “from eighty to ninety per cent of the women vote.”

Though eligible to all offices, Wyoming women have not been office holders to the same extent as women in some of the other suffrage States. Until 1910, when Mrs. Mary Godat Bellamy, a former County Superintendent of Instruction, was elected a member of the House of Representatives in the Legislature, no woman had ever served in that capacity. As in all the equal suffrage States, the office of County Superintendent of Instruction is urged upon the women, and frequently women are elected to other county offices, such as clerk, recorder, treasurer, etc. In the early days, under Justice Howe, women served on juries to excellent effect, their presence serving very materially to wipe out the particular types of lawlessness characteristic of a frontier settlement; but on his retirement the practice was discontinued.

Effect Upon Legislation.

Despite the lack of effective organization, due to frontier conditions of life, the women have been able to exert considerable influence upon legislation. They have helped 31 secure the following important measures:

Making gambling illegal.

Giving women absolute rights over their own property.

Making exactly equal inheritance by husband and wife, father and mother; giving band the mother equal rights with the father over The children; limiting the hours of labor of women to ten a day.

Providing that men and women teachers shall receive equal pay for equal work.

Raising the age of protection of young girls to 18.

Providing penalties for child neglect, abuse or cruelty.

Forbidding the employment of children in certain industries.

Making it unlawful to give or sell liquor or tobacco to children.

Establishing kindergartens and a State industrial school.

Providing for the care of dependent children and infirm, indigent or incompetent persons.

Making State pure food regulations conform with national law.

Providing for the initiative and referendum, the commission form of government, direct primaries, accounting of campaign expenses on the part of candidates for political offices, and the headless ballot.

Establishing pensions for mothers.

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COLORADO

Full suffrage granted 1893

Population (1910) Total 799,024

Males over 21 271,648

Females over 21 213,425

Percentage of men to women 127.3

Total vote for President in 1892, men only 93,843

Total vote for President in 1896, men and women 189,141

Total vote for President in 1912,. 288,827

Total vote of President in 1916 293,966

History.

The first effort to obtain woman suffrage in Colorado after it became a State was in 1877, when it was defeated by a vote of 2 to 1. In 1893 a law was enacted which was submitted to the voters and carried by a majority of 347. In 1901, after women had been exercising the privilege for eight years, the measure was carried by implication as a clause of a constitutional amendment by a majority of 18,000.

No attempt at repeal has ever been made. On the contrary, practically every public man of importance in the State has at one time or another placed himself on record as commending the participation of Colorado women in public affairs, while not six men of standing have been induced to assert over their own signatures that woman suffrage has brought about one single evil, or 33 even that it has failed to effect improvements.

Owing to the fact that conditions are more like those in the typical American commonwealth than conditions in any of the other States that have enfranchised women—with the exception of Washington and California, in which the measure is much more recent—Colorado has been chosen for most of the investigations that have been made into the workings of equal suffrage. The few unfavorable reports that have appeared—all, it must be said, in publications of known anti-suffrage tendencies—have called forth an avalanche of indignant refutation from the most representative men of the state.

In 1898, as a result of certain misrepresentations, a statement approving equal suffrage was issued, signed by the Governor, three ex-Governors, both United States Senators, two ex-Senators, two Representatives in Congress, the Chief Justice and two Associate Justice of the Supreme, Court, three Judges of the Court of Appeals, four Judges of the District Court, the Secretary of State, the State Treasurer, the State Auditor, the Attorney-General, the Mayor of Denver, the president of the State University, the president of Colorado College and the presidents of officers of numerous women's clubs.

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In 1899 the Colorado Legislature passed, by a vote of 45 to 3 in the House and 30 to 1 in the Senate, a resolution declaring that during time that equal suffrage had been in operation women had used the vote as generally as men, with the result that better candidates had been selected for office, election methods had been purified, the character of legislation improved, civic intelligence increased and womanhood developed; and recommending the adoption of the measure by all the States and Territories of the Union.

In 1911, as the result of an attack upon the workings of equal suffrage, the Colorado Equal Suffrage Aid Association, whose officers are among the most prominent men of the State, was formed for the purpose of supplying accurate information and of correcting any further misrepresentation.

On May 10, 1916, a manifesto was issued by sixty-six leading citizens of Denver and the City Federation—an organization of the Associated Charities, Ministerial Alliance, and more than forty altruistic societies of denver. Among the signers of this manifesto, who were all men, were, presidents of banks and trust companies and business concerns, judges, school superintendents, pastors and prominent business men. The manifesto read:

“Because various irresponsible persons, in 35 no way representing the real spirit of Colorado, have circulated statements defamatory to the credit of the State and its womanhood, we believe the times has become when all such silly and slanderous stories should be repudiated by the intelligent and public spirit men of the State of Colorado.

“The demand for Colorado bond is far greater than the supply. In per capita wealth, in expenditures for education, in the percentage of homes without incumbrance, in public improvements, in all matters affecting social welfare and the altruistic side of legislation, Colorado stands well to the front, as may be easily verified by the reports of the United States Government.

“In all efforts that have served to forward the health and prosperity of the State the women of Colorado have done their share. The enfranchisement of women is no longer a question here. Equal

suffrage was granted by popular vote in 1893 and incorporated in the Constitution ten years later by a majority three times the size of that given the original referendum.”

Extent of Woman Vote.

While no accurate figures are available, it is probable—judging from estimates furnished by various State and County officials—that seventy-five to eighty-five per cent. of the eligible women actually cast their ballots. 36 The number of women voting varies with the importance of the election or with the special interest to women in the issues involved. Helen L. Sumner, in her book, “Equal Suffrage,”

* gives a careful summary of all the information available on this point in the years 1906 and 1907 when she made her investigation; and she concludes that a much larger proportion of the women than of the men who were entitled to the ballot appear to have availed themselves of their privilege in the early elections, and that between seventy-five and eighty per cent. of the women of the State probably voted in 1894 and in 1896. There is very reason to believe that their interest has increased rather than decreased.

* “Equal suffrage,” by Helen L. Sumner, Ph.D. The results of an investigation made in Colorado for the Collegiate Equal suffrage League of New York State. Harper and Brothers, New York.

Women have held office more extensively in Colorado than in any of the other suffrage States. Since they became eligible, one or more women have been elected to the House of Representatives of the Legislature every year except during a period of six years reaching from 1903 to 1909. In 1912 a woman was elected for the first time to the Senate of the Legislature, Mrs. Helen Ring Robinson of Denver. Mrs. Robinson did not run in 1916, but Mrs. A. 37 L. Riddle, who had sat in the Assembly for several terms, was in that year elected State Senator.

Since the adoption of equal suffrage, the office of State Superintendent of Public Instruction has always gone to a woman, most of the incumbents serving more than one term. Mrs. Helen. L. Grenfell was twice re-elected, and was the appointed as one of the three States Prison Commissioners under who administration a number of modern prison reforms have been introduces. The present incumbent, Mrs. Mary C. C. Bradford, has been identified for years with a wide variety of movements making for the improvement of conditions in the State. No other State office has, as yet, gone to a woman; but women very generally hold county and city offices. Mrs. Ellis Meredith was president of Denver's Board of Election Commissioners for a number of years. At a special election in February, 1914, there were 540 election judges, of whom 267 were women. Women are eligible to sit on juries, but it is not customary to impanel then except in special cases. Recently, however, since women in the never equal suffrage States have shown capacity to

sit on juries, the more public-spirited of the Colorado women have begun to protest against their exemption from this obligation of citizenship.

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Effect Upon Legislation.

One striking effect of woman been the provision of clean, well-lighted and well-warmed places for polling booths, usually in private houses, churches, fire stations, guild halls or stores—never in saloons.

The statutes of Colorado present a most imposing array of laws affecting the welfare of women, children and the home. A large number of these must unquestionably be attributed to the work of women. In this State, where the sexes are more evenly distributed than in any of the older suffrage States, the women voters have used their political power to influence legislation more consciously and deliberately and over a longer period of time than anywhere else. Women have introduced many of these laws into the Legislature, where, in most sessions, they had the advantage of women members to look after them. Every woman's club has its legislative committee, which scrutinizes every bill introduced and makes recommendations as to whether it should be supported or opposed. Among the laws most easily traceable to women's influence are the following measures:

Making mother joint guardians with the fathers over their children.

Raising the age of protection of young girls to 18.

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Establishing a juvenile court; making parents responsible for the offenses of delinquent children, when they have by neglect or any other cause contributed to such delinquency.

Forbidding the employment of children in certain industries.

Making the wife the head of the family in cases where she provides the principal support.

Providing for supervision of lying-in hospitals and maternity homes conducted by private individuals.

Compelling men to support their families and making wife-desertion a felony.

Providing penalties for the punishment of male and female procurers.

Making it a felony for any person under 18 to work as a servant or employee in any house of ill-fame.

Making immoral solicitation a felony.

Imposing heavy penalties upon men for living upon the earnings of immoral women.

Forbidding the insuring of the lives of children under ten years.

Establishing State parental schools.

Establishing a State home for dependent children, two of the five members of the board to be women.

Requiring that at least three of the six members of the Board of County Visitors shall be women.

40

Establishing a State industrial home for girls, three of the five members of the board to be women.

Requiring one woman physician on the board of the insane asylum.

Providing for the care of the feeble-minded.

Making father and mother joint heirs of a deceased child.

Establishing a State travelling library commission, to consist of five women from the Colorado Federation of Women's Club, to be appointed by the Governor.

Prohibiting the gift or sale of cigarettes to children.

Prohibiting the sale of opium.

Making employers liable for industrial accidents.

Removing the emblems from the Australia ballot (an approach to an educational qualification for voting).

Establishing the indeterminate sentence for prisoners.

Making the Colorado Humane Society a State bureau of child and animal protection.

Providing for the teaching of humanity to animals in the public schools.

Establishing mothers' pensions.

Creating a minimum wage board to determine minimum wage for women.

Establishing an eight-hour law for women.

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Providing for the initiative, referendum, recall, and for direct primaries.

At the election of November, 1914, Statewide prohibition was adopted, and in the Session of 1915 a red light injunction and abatement law on the model of the Iowa law was passed. In the same session Colorado adopted a comprehensive workman's compensation act and an industrial disputes act.

Before the franchise was granted women's property rights had already been fairly well secured, and now the last discriminations have been removed, so that, with respect to property, women are on a basis of perfect equality with men, the old laws of power and courtesy having been replaced with measures even more favorable to women.

UTAH

Full suffrage granted 1896

Population (1910) Total 373,351

Males over 21 104,115

Females over 21 87,729

Percentage of men to women 121.4

Total vote for President in 1912 121,917

Total vote for President in 1916 143,035

No comparison with vote of men only is possible.

History.

In 1870, before Utah was admitted as a state, the territorial Legislature passed a 42 measure adopting equal suffrage, and for seventeen years women voted at all elections and acted as delegates to political conventions and members of territorial and county committees, but they were not eligible to office. In 1887 Congress passed a bill taking away the rights granted by the territorial Legislature, and during the remaining nine years of the territorial period Utah women were without the vote. In 1896, however, when statehood was conferred, equal suffrage was included in the Constitution. Since then women have been unquestioningly accepted on an equal political footing with men in all respects.

During the second and third sessions of the Legislature after women were permanently enfranchised in Utah, Mrs. Martha Hughes Cannon sat in Senate, the first woman in the United States to be elected to the upper chamber of a legislative body. A number of women have been elected to the House of Representatives at various times—four in 1912. In 1912, also, Mrs. Margaret Zane Witcher was elected a Presidential Elector.

Effect Upon Legislation.

Since their enfranchisement women have aided in securing the following measures:

Providing for equal pay for equal work for teachers.

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Raising the age of protection for young girls to 18.

Establishing free public libraries in cities and towns.

Requiring in all schools and educational institutions supported wholly or partly by public funds, systematic instruction in physiology and hygiene, including the effects of stimulants and narcotics.

Providing for a course of free lectures every year at the capital on sanitary science, hygiene and nursing.

Providing for a curfew bell at 9 P. M. to keep children off the streets at night.

Making it a misdemeanor for any minor to buy, accept or have in this possession, cigarettes, tobacco, opium or any other narcotic.

Providing for the protection of dependent, neglected or ill-treated children, and for the punishment of the persons responsible.

Requiring the establishment of kindergartens in towns of a specified size.

Prohibiting traffic in women; giving cities the power to suppress and prohibit disorderly houses.

Prohibiting pandering.

Prohibiting the employment of children in certain industries.

Prohibiting the employment of women 44 more than nine hours a day or fifty-four hours a week.

Providing for medical examination of school children.

Authorizing boards of health to take certain steps to protect the public against venereal disease.

Providing for sanitary inspection of slaughter houses and other places where foodstuffs are prepared.

Creating a juvenile court commission.

Establishing a minimum wage for women.

Requiring that seats shall be furnished where women are employed.

Providing for mothers' pensions.

Making mothers equal guardians with the fathers over their children.

Compelling wife-deserters to pay a specified amount for the support of their families.

Giving local option on the liquor question.

Women have practically the same rights over their independent property as men, the old laws of dower and courtesy having been superseded by more modern statutes.

IDAHO

Full suffrage granted 1896

Population (1910) Total 325,594

Males over 21 110,863

Females over 21 69,818

Percentage of men to women 158.8

Total vote for Governor in 1914 117,275

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Total vote for President in 1912 119,252

Total vote for President in 1916 134,615

No comparison with vote of men only is possible.

History.

In 1895, immediately after the admission of Idaho as a State, the Idaho Legislature voted Unanimously in the Senate and 33 to 2 in the House, to submit a woman suffrage amendment to the State Constitution, and in 1896 the measure carried by a majority of 5,844.

Extent of Woman Vote.

Despite the unsettled state of the country, which makes it difficult for women to get to the polls, women in Idaho have exercised their rights as fully as men, and sometimes in considerably larger numbers, the percentage of registered women who vote ranging from 75 per cent. to 85 per cent.

As in Colorado, the office of State Superintendent of Public Instruction has been held by a woman ever since women became eligible, each incumbent holding it for two terms of two years each. The educational system of Idaho is notable for its excellence and progressiveness. In 1900 the Legislature

passed a bill exempting women from jury service, but this was vetoed by the Governor, in response to a protest from the 46 women themselves. It is not customary for women to serve, however, except in special cases.

Effect Upon Legislation.

In the first session of the Legislature after they got the vote, women aided materially in getting through a measure of the utmost importance to the young State, namely, an anti-gambling law. In the nine sessions since then they have helped to secure the following measures:

Raising the age of protection for young girls to 18.

Prohibiting the employment of children in certain industries.

Creating juvenile court.

Creating a State humane society.

Establishing libraries and reading rooms and a State library commission, consisting of the president of the State University, the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, the Secretary of State and the Attorney-General.

Providing for a department of domestic science in the State University and for a course of lectures on the subject in the Academy of Idaho.

Establishing an industrial school.

Providing for the inspection and regulation of places where foods and drugs are prepared.

47

Providing for the commission form of government.

Providing anti-trust regulations.

Prohibiting persons of lewd lives, both men and women, from voting.

Establishing a nine-hour law for women.

Creating mothers' pensions.

Making mothers equal guardians with the father of their children.

Giving married women control of their property and earnings.

Prohibiting traffic in women.

Giving cities and village the power to regulate and suppress prostitution.

In 1915 Idaho adopted the Red Light Injunction and Abatement Law; and also passed a law providing for state-wide prohibition from January, 1916. In 1916 a prohibition amendment was added to the State Constitution by a large majority of the voters.

WASHINGTON

Full suffrage granted 1910

Population (1910) Total 1,141,990

Males over 21 441,294

Females over 21 277,727

Percentage of men to women 158.9

Total vote for President in 1908, men only 183,630

Total vote for President in 1912, men and women 374,615

Total vote for President in 1916, men and women 380,994

48

History.

In 1883 the territorial Legislature passed a bill adopting equal suffrage, and for four years the women of Washington voted in as large, or larger, numbers than the men—to such good effect as

to call forth glowing encomiums from the State press. In 1886 some question of constitutionality having arisen, the Legislature strengthened the act. Nevertheless, in 1887, certain vicious elements, that had suffered through the woman vote, succeeded in having the bill declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, on the grounds that it was improperly titled. The following year the Legislature re-enacted it—this time perfect in every respect. In 1889 the same elements that had secured the first reversal succeeded in getting the Supreme Court to disfranchise women on the grounds that territorial legislatures had no power to extend suffrage.

When statehood was applied for, the women tried to get the measure incorporated into the new constitution, but they were unable to do more than secure the submission of the question as an amendment. It was defeated by a majority of 19,000. In 1898 they again secured a submission of the question as a constitutional amendment, and this time it was defeated by a majority of 10,000. In 1910 the amendment was submitted 49 for the third time, and won by a majority of 20,000—two to one in every election district.

The granting of the vote to women in Washington was generally regarded as the most important victory in the suffrage movement up to that time; for the reason that the feminine population is larger, the general population denser, the cities larger and more numerous, and the industries and all other conditions of life more like those of the typical American commonwealth.

Extent of Woman Vote.

Shortly after Washington women got the vote, an initiative petition was circulated for the recall of Mayor Hiram C. Gill of Seattle because of his policy with respect to commercialized vice. The referendum on this petition—which, it is generally admitted, could never have received the requisite number of signatures but for the women voters—brought out a record woman vote. Out of the 72,000 voters registering 23,000 were women, although in Seattle men greatly outnumber women; and of the 23,000 registered 22,000 actually cash their ballots. Gill, who had been elected by a majority of 4,000, was recalled by a majority of 6,000. In the next city election, he presented himself as a candidate for the mayoralty, and received the nomination, but was 50 defeated—again by women's votes. In 1914, secure of Mr. Gill's defeat, the interest put in the field a man whose election they particularly desired. Mayor Gill, in his manifesto, acknowledged his conversion, promised a clean government and was elected by the help of the women's vote. After election he adhered strictly to his promises. Women are also credited with having brought about the recall of the Mayor and city commissioners of Tacoma for the same reasons that they had opposed Mayor Gill. In the State elections of 1912, women polled a large vote and are credited with having elected

the gubernatorial candidate of their choice, Ernest Lister, although he was not a member of the dominant party, which overwhelmingly carried the rest of the State ticket.

After women got the vote in Washington the first women drawn for jury duty accepted and served quite as a matter of course. The constitutionality of their appointment, without special legislation, was questioned, and in 1911 a law giving them the right to sit was passed.

Effect Upon Legislation.

Since women were enfranchised they have made an excellent record. Among the measures which they introduced or to which 51 they gave special support, the following were successful:

Creating an eight hour law for women.

Establishing an industrial welfare commission to fix hours of employment, standard conditions of labor and minimum wage for women.

Providing for workmen's compensation.

Creating a teachers' retirement fund.

Creating mothers' pensions.

Providing that a man who refuses to provide for his family shall work in a county stockade and \$1.50 for each day's work shall be paid to his wife or children.

Adopting the model Iowa Red Light Injunction and Abatement Act for the suppression of disorderly houses.

Regulating the milk industry.

Providing for juvenile courts.

Providing for penalties for child desertion.

Creating a State school for delinquent girls.

Introducing improvements into the public school system and establishing free kindergartens.

Providing that school buildings may be used as social centers.

Abolishing the death penalty.

Adopting the initiative and referendum.

52

CALIFORNIA

Full suffrage granted 1911

Population (1910) Total 2,377,549

Males over 21 920,397

Females over 21 671,386

Percentage of men to women 137.1

Total vote for Governor, 1910, men only 325,652

Total vote for Governor, 1914, men and women 1,004,902

Total vote for President in 1912, men and women 776,094

Total vote for President in 1916, men and women 1,045,858

History.

In 1896 a woman suffrage amendment to the State Constitution was submitted to the voters by the California Legislature, and defeated by a vote of 26,744. In 1911 the amendment was submitted for the second time and carried by a majority of 4,000.

This was an even greater victory than the one preceding, as conditions in California are even more typical of American civilization in its most advanced stage than those in Washington. It doubled the number of women voters, and added to the number of Presidential Electors elected by the votes of

both men and women as many as are elected by Utah, Idaho, and Wyoming or by Washington and Colorado put together.

53

Extent of Woman Vote.

Never in the history of American politics has there been such a registration of voters as that immediately following the enfranchisement of the California women. In Los Angeles, where the first city election was held, practically all women of voting age hastened to place their names upon the rolls, and from 95 per cent. to 99 per cent. of those registered actually cast their ballots, outnumbering the men in almost every district.

In 1913 the College Equal Suffrage League of Northern California undertook an investigation to secure accurate data as to the numbers of women registered and voting. Returns were secured from thirty-seven of the fifty-eight countries. The results indicate that about 251,847 women voted (Secretary of State Frank C. Jordan puts the figure at 313,883). This is an average for the thirty-seven countries, taken at random, of 61.3 per cent. of the registered women voting. For the whole state of California the average of registered men voting was 56.4 per cent.

Effect Upon Legislation.

The women's first care after their enfranchisement was to put through a most extraordinary legislative program, which, 54 while it was probably not designed, except incidentally, to demonstrate the fact that they know how to use their political power, actually did serve that end most admirably. The list of laws passed in this session and in that of 1915 is as follows:

The Mothers' Pension Law, granting aid to needy parents in order to keep the children at home rather than have them committed to institutions.

The Minimum Wage Law, creating a commission to investigate the conditions of industry of women and children, with power to determine minimum wage rates, maximum hours of labor, and proper conditions of work in industries in which women and minors are employed.

The Red Light Abatement and Injunction Law, placing the responsibility of disorderly houses upon the owners and lessees rather than upon the inmates, and forbidding such houses.

The Joint Guardianship Law, giving mothers equal rights over their minor children.

The Juvenile Court Law, separating dependent from delinquent children.

The extension of the Eight-Hour Law for Women to include workers in apartment houses and nurses in training.

The Age of Consent Law, raising the age from 16 to 18.

55

The State Training School for Girls, providing a separate institution for girls, with the most approved correctional methods and thorough vocational training.

The Teachers' Pension Law, granting pensions of \$500 a year to all teachers who have been in service thirty years.

The Net Container Law, specifying that packages shall show the amount of net contents.

The Weights and Measures Law, providing for a complete standard of weights and measures and regular inspection of dealers.

The Roberts Law forbidding the destruction of any foodstuffs fit for human consumption.

The State Civil Service Law, bringing practically all State employees under the merit service.

The creation of a State Housing and Immigration Commission to prepare for the coming of immigrants with the opening of the Panama Canal.

Prison Reform; all sentences except for murder are made indeterminate; strait-jackets and cold showers are prohibited, and arrangements are made for the payment of wages to State's prison convicts and for assistance to discharged prisoners.

The Milk Inspection Law, providing for strict regulation of dairies.

56

The White Slave Law, prohibiting traffic in women between counties.

The Tuberculosis Law, providing for the reporting of all such cases.

The creation of a commission to investigate the question of old-age pensions.

The Workman's Compensation Law, requiring compulsory compensation for injuries, and establishing a system of State industrial insurance.

The Water Conservation Law, establishing a Water Commission with authority over all water in the State. Conservation is a subject in which the women in California have taken keen interest.

The Psychopathic Parole Law, providing for the parole of persons mentally abnormal, but not dangerously insane, under the custody of psychopathic parole officers.

The Billboard Law, limiting billboards to ten feet in height and prohibiting spite fences of more than that height.

The Bastardy Law, requiring fathers to help support illegitimate children.

A law providing for the sterilization of inmates of insane asylums and certain convicts.

The creation of mosquito control districts.

The requirement of the wife's signature to legalize the assignment of a man's wages.

The amendment to the Child Labor Law raising the age limit of child workers from twelve to fifteen.

57

The provision of a public defender for poor persons in criminal cases.

The provision of home teachers to work among immigrant families, to instruct children and adults concerning school attendance; in the English language; in sanitation; in household economics; and in American citizenship.

The Married Women's Property Law, giving married women complete control of their own property.

The extension of the power of the Industrial Welfare Commission to cover hours of labor, wages, and conditions of work in the canning industry.

KANSAS

Municipal suffrage granted 1887

Full suffrage granted 1912

Population (1910) Total 1,690,949

Males over 21 508,529

Females over 21 438,934

Percentage of men to women 115.9

Total vote for President in 1912, men 365,444

Total vote for Governor in 1914, men and women 689,173

Total vote for President in 1916, men to women 629,813

History.

In 1861, when Kansas was admitted to statehood, it came into the Union with school suffrage for women in its State Constitution. This was the first recognition given in this country to the principle of political rights for women, except for a small measure of school suffrage granted to widows with children of school age in Kentucky in 1838. In 1887, municipal suffrage was granted. In 1894, a constitutional amendment to give women full suffrage was submitted to the voters, but defeated. In 1903, the right to vote on the issuance of bonds was granted. In 1912, the amendment was again submitted and this time won by a majority of over 16,000.

Extent of Woman Vote.

The election of 1914 was the first general State election following the enfranchisement of Kansas women. The increase in the total vote at this election over the election of 1912 was in almost exact proportion to the increase of voters through the addition of the women—indicating that the women voted in the same proportion as the men.

Effect Upon Legislation.

The first move of the women after their enfranchisement was to turn their State suffrage organization into a Good Citizenship League, the chief object of which is to provide facilities for the study of government and civics among women.

Previous to 1912, however, the laws of Kansas showed a very high degree of fairness to women. The first Constitution, adopted in 1859, provided that "the legislature shall provide for the protection of the rights of women in acquiring and possessing property, real, personal or mixed, separate and apart from the husband, and shall also provide for their equal rights in the possession of their children." In 1868, women were given full control of their property and their wages. The age of consent for girls is eighteen.

The measures passed since the women were enfranchised, which reflect the influence of women, are:

Providing that the wages of prisoners shall be given to their families.

Providing for the censorship of moving pictures.

Creating a Department of Labor and Industry with at least one woman factory inspector.

Providing for workman's compensation.

Prohibiting traffic in women.

Providing penalties for the sale of immoral postcards, etc.

Restricting the sale of injurious drugs.

Providing for the sterilization of idiots, insane, epileptics and certain classes of criminals.

Establishing mother's pensions.

Giving a right to damages against town or city for injury to person, property or 60 means of support, due to intoxication of husband or father.

Giving to wife, child or employer right to damages for injury due to intoxication against owner of place where liquor was sold.

Providing that prisoners' earnings shall be paid to wife and children.

Establishing an Industrial Welfare Commission with power to fix minimum rates of wages, maximum hours of work and standard conditions for women and minors.

OREGON

Full suffrage granted 1912

Population (1910) Total 672,765

Males over 21 257,188

Females over 21 168,323

Percentage of men to women 152.8

Total vote for President in 1912, men 137,040

Total vote for Governor in 1914, men and women 248,052

Total vote for President in 1916 261,650

History.

The granting of full suffrage to women in OREGON in 1912 ended the longest continuous organized struggle for enfranchisement ever made in this country. The leader of the, Oregon suffragists was Mrs. Abigail Scott Duniway, who also took part in the campaigns in Idaho and Washington. The amendment was submitted six times, the first in 1884, when it was defeated by a vote of 28,186 to 11,223, almost three to one. In 1912, it won by a vote of 61,265 to 57,104, a majority of 4,161. School suffrage was granted in 1878.

Effect Upon Legislation.

During the legislative session of 1913, Oregon papers frequently commented upon the ease with which certain bills, which had previously met with violent opposition, passed through their various stages and became laws. Among them were the following measures:

Providing for an industrial commission to fix hours of labor, standard conditions of labor, and a minimum wage for women and children.

Establishing a State Industrial School for Girls.

Providing for the industrial training of dependent girls in the public school system.

Making it a felony to refuse to support wife and minor children.

Providing for the care of children of marriages declared void.

Providing for teachers' pensions.

Providing for mothers' pensions.

Adopting the model Iowa Red Light Abatement and Injunction Act for the suppression of disorderly houses.

Making it a felony for a man to live upon the earnings of a prostitute.

62

Requiring a medical certificate for men for marriage.

Creating Live Stock Sanitary Board.

Regulating the sale of dairy products.

Providing against the spread of tuberculosis.

In 1915 the women's programme included seven measures which became law. They were:

An Act creating Juvenile Courts.

An Act providing pensions for mothers.

An Act permitting schoolhouses to be used as civic centers, and authorizing the use of school funds for lighting, janitor service, etc.

An Act abolishing capital punishment.

An Act carrying into effect the popular vote for prohibition, which became operative January 1, 1916.

An Act providing for equal pay for equal work for men and women teachers.

ARIZONA

Full suffrage granted 1912

Population (1910) Total 204,354

Males over 21 74,051

Females over 21 43,891

Percentage of men to women 168.7

Total vote for President in 1912, men only 23,987

Total vote for Governor in 1914, men and women 59,185

Total vote for President in 1916, men and women 58,021

63

History.

For nearly fifteen years Arizona women worked without avail to get their Territorial Legislature to exercise its right to confer full suffrage upon them without the referendum to the voters necessary in a State, although they secured school suffrage in 1887. Nor were they successful in their efforts to get a woman suffrage clause included in the Constitution when Arizona was admitted to statehood. A bill asking for a woman suffrage amendment to the Constitution was introduced into the first

Legislature of the new State, and was lost by one vote in the Senate, although it passed in the House. The women then turned to the people, and in less than two months' time succeeded in getting twenty-five per cent. more than the required number of signatures to a Initiative Petition. The measure went to the voters in the regular November elections and won by a majority of 7,240.

Extent of Woman Vote.

Sidney P. Osborne, Secretary of State, writes from Phoenix (January 15, 1915): "It is the general impression that the number of women who took advantage of the right of suffrage at the recent election, which was the first election held in this State at 64 which they had that right, was much larger than the percentage of men, who availed themselves at that election and also those held in the past."

Effect Upon Legislation.

In the session of 1913 the Legislature elected before the women had the right to vote passed an eight-hour law for women in certain industries; and a law granting pensions to mothers, which was later declared unconstitutional. An appeal to the State Supreme Court was pending in November, 1916. The influence of the women also helped to pass a law raising the age of consent to 18, and a Red Light Injunction and Abatement Law.

The votes of the women largely contributed to the carrying, in 1914, of the prohibition amendment to the State Constitution.

ALASKA

Full suffrage granted 1913

Population (1910) Total 64,356

History.

In 1912, a territorial legislature for Alaska was convened, and the first bill to be introduced, and the first bill to pass, was one enfranchising women. There was not a dissenting voice in either house.

Effect Upon Legislature.

The mere fact that women *were to be* on a basis of political equality with men, caused the Legislature to place them on a basis of perfect equality in every other way as far as this lay within its power. Section 495 of the Compiled Laws of Alaska reads: "All laws which impose or recognize civil disability in a wife which are not imposed or recognized as existing as to the husband, are hereby repealed; and for any unjust usurpation of her property or natural rights she shall have the same right to appeal in her own name alone to all courts for redress that the husband has."

ILLINOIS

Municipal and Presidential suffrage granted to women 1913

Population (1910) Total 5,638,591

Males over 21 1,743,182

Females over 21 1,567,491

Percentage of men to women 111.2

Total vote for President in 1912, men only 1,247,247

Total vote for President in 1916, men and women 2,192,707

History.

The difficulties of obtaining an amendment to the Constitution in Illinois caused the women to turn their attention to an attempt to secure by legislative enactment the 66 large measure of suffrage which the Legislature, under the Constitution, had the power to extend. In this they were successful in the summer of 1913. The enactment of this law gives them the right to vote for Presidential Electors, for State Board of Equalization, clerk of the appellate court, county collector, county surveyor, board of assessors, board of review, sanitary district trustees, and for all municipal offices except Justice of the Peace—all the offices not created by the State Constitution. They may also vote

on all questions or propositions submitted to a vote of the electors of the municipalities or other political divisions of the State; except such questions as the constitution provides must be submitted to the electors.

Extent of Woman Vote.

Women in Illinois voted first in the Spring elections of 1913. They had little part in the elections of November 3, 1914, as they are not entitled to vote for United States Senators or Congressmen, or for Governor or State Senators, or Representatives. Since then the registration has been in proportion to the importance of the issues on which the women could vote—culminating in a registration for the Presidential election of November, 1916, which astounded both the officials and the campaign managers. In the 67 election of November 7, 1916, 289,444 women voted in Chicago alone, as against 154,750 in the primaries of 1915.

Effect of Legislation.

Immediately after the passage of the measure, a commission to provide for the installation of a municipal garbage reduction plant—for which women had fought for years—was appointed, and the women who had been most active in the movement placed at its head.

The effect of the women's votes is seen in the increase of dry territory. The Brewers' Year Book for 1914 gives the following analysis for the vote of that year. Male vote: Total wet majority in 60 out of 70 counties, 54,254; total dry majority in 10 counties, 1,425—total wet majority of male vote, 52,829. Women's vote: Total wet majority in 4 out of 70 counties, 2,898; total dry majority in 66 counties, 55,503—total dry majority of women vote, 52,605. As a result of the vote, 158 towns, cities and villages went dry and 95 went wet. In April, 1915, three more counties were added to the dry territory and there were no successes for the wets. In 1917, 59 towns went dry and in thirty-nine of these this was entirely due to the women's vote. The greatest victory of all was the next year, 68 when the women's vote closed the saloons in the great city of Springfield.

In Chicago the influence of the women voters caused the appointment of forty policewomen, and the creation of a court for boys too old for the juvenile court.

MONTANA

Full suffrage granted 1914

Population (1910) Total 376,053

Males over 21 155,017

Females over 21 81,741

Percentage of men to women 189.6

Total vote for President in 1912 79,826

Total vote for Governor in 1914 79,778

Total vote for President in 1916, men and women 177,679

History.

The bill for submitting a woman suffrage amendment to the State Constitution to the electors was passed by the Legislature in 1913, by a vote in the House of 75 to 2 and in the Senate of 26 to 2. The popular vote which was taken on November 3, 1914, gave a majority of about 4,000 for the amendment. The first general election in which the women took part was that in November, 1916.

In the session of 1915 four important measures were passed:

A mother' pension law.

An equal guardianship law.

An Act giving married woman control of their own property.

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An Act making both father and mother liable for necessities for the family.

Prohibition by constitutional amendment.

In the election of November, 1916, Miss Jeannette Rankin was elected to Congress. Two women were elected to the State Assembly and for the first time in the history of the State a woman, Miss Mary Trumper, was elected Superintendent of Public Instruction.

NEVADA

Full suffrage granted 1914

Population (1910) Total 81,875

Males over 21 40,026

Females over 21 18,140

Percentage of men to women 220.7

Total vote for President in 1912 20,115

Total vote for Governor in 1914 20,626

Total vote for President in 1916, men and women 32,978

History.

Although completely surrounded by equal suffrage States, Nevada had no form of woman suffrage before the full enfranchisement of its women by the popular vote of November, 1914. The growing sentiment in favor of woman suffrage was shown by the fact that the constitutional amendment to be submitted to the voters was passed by the House of Representative by 49 to 3, and in the Senate by 19 to 3. When the popular vote was taken on November 3, 1914, every county but one gave a majority in favor of woman suffrage.

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The Legislature in 1915 greatly displeased the women by passing a bill shortening the time of residence necessary for obtaining a divorce, and the race track bill legalizing gambling. Nevertheless some good measures were passed, including:

An Act giving mothers equal rights with fathers over their children.

An Act providing for mothers' pensions.

An Act providing for pensions for retired teachers.

An Act providing for kindergartens in small communities.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE AMENDMENTS IN THE STATES

Nine of the equal suffrage States gave votes to women by means of amendments to their State constitutions, which were ratified by popular vote. In Colorado equal suffrage was established by law, but the law was ratified by a vote of the electors. Besides these ten successful appeals to the voters there have been thirty-seven attempts to obtain the passage of constitutional amendments which have been voted down at the polls. Eleven of these unsuccessful referenda were in States that afterwards adopted equal suffrage. These are: California, 1896; Colorado, 1877; Kansas, 1867, 1894; Oregon, 1884, 1900, 1906, 1908, 1910; Washington, 1889, 1898. Twenty-six were 71 in States where the women have not yet the full franchise. These are: Iowa, 1916; Massachusetts, 1915; Michigan, 1874, 1912, 1913; Missouri, 1914; Nebraska, 1871, 1882, 1914; New Hampshire, 1903; New Jersey, 1915; New York, 1915; North Dakota, 1914; Ohio, 1912, 1914; Oklahoma, 1910; Pennsylvania, 1915; Rhode Island, 1887; South Dakota, 1890, 1894, 1898, 1910, 1914, 1916; West Virginia, 1916, and Wisconsin, 1912.

Between 1910 and 1915 woman suffrage amendments have been voted on in twenty-one States and carried in seven. During that time woman suffrage has received 2,878,932 favorable votes as against 3,992,932 unfavorable. In cases where more than one popular vote has been held in a state only the latest vote is counted. In the four States where woman suffrage amendments were voted on last year—New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts—1,214,470 votes were cast for the enfranchisement of the women.

In the Presidential and Congressional election campaign of 1916 there was unprecedented political activity among women—both among the enfranchised and the unenfranchised. Women campaigned both for President Wilson and for Mr. Hughes, and in the equal franchise States the Woman's Party carried on a vigorous, though unsuccessful, 72 campaign against President Wilson on the ground that he and his party had blocked the passage of the Federal Amendment. The Woman's Party, which was organized in Chicago in June, 1916, is an outgrowth of the Congressional Union which since 1913

has devoted its entire attention to the passage of the Amendment to the United States Constitution first introduced by Miss Anthony.

A precedent established in the 1916 election was the election of Miss Jeannette Rankin of Montana to the House of Representatives at Washington. Miss Rankin ran on the Republican ticket, but she was supported also by the Democratic women, and ran over 20,000 votes ahead of her political colleagues on the ticket.

States Gained in 1917.

In the first four months of 1917 a large degree of suffrage was extended to women by the legislatures of North Dakota and Nebraska, which passed bills much like that of Illinois: Ohio, Michigan and Rhode Island, which gave them the right to elect presidential electors; Indiana, which passed a bill even broader in scope than that of Illinois, and Arkansas, which gave women the right to vote at the primaries. In a democratic southern State this is very nearly equivalent to full voting rights.

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EUROPE

The northern countries of Europe have always shown themselves more favorable to women than the southern countries. In France, while women take a large share in business and social life, they have as yet been given no political rights. In Germany the sphere of woman has been severely limited, and in the countries bordering on the Mediterranean the woman's rights movement has as yet made little progress.

SCANDINAVIA

Throughout the five countries inhabited by the Scandinavian people women have some measure of electoral rights. At the present time in Finland, Norway, Iceland and Denmark, all women have the full parliamentary vote on the same terms as men; in Sweden all women have municipal or communal suffrage on the same terms as men, and there has long been a strong movement for the removal of such political disabilities as still remain. It is practically universally conceded that the

full enfranchisement of women will come in Sweden as soon as the war is over. In all five countries women are eligible for the offices for which they vote.

NORWAY

Municipal franchise granted tax-paying women 1901

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Full franchise granted tax-paying women 1907

Municipal franchise extended to all women 1910

Full Parliamentary franchise extended to all women 1913

Approximate number of women having the full franchise 380,000

Percentage of women eligible who vote 70

Population Total 2,391,782

Men 1,155,773

Women 1,236,009

History.

Norway was the first wholly free and independent nation to give full suffrage to even a part of its women.

In 1901 the municipal franchise was granted to women who, either in their own persons or with their husbands, paid taxes on an income amounting to about \$100 a year or on approximately \$100 worth of property—in number about 300,000. In 1905 the question of the dissolution of the union between Sweden and Norway was submitted to the words, and the women, although legally disqualified from expressing their opinion, took an informal ballot on the question and submitted it to the Storting. Three hundred thousand women, as against the 400,000 men who cast their formal ballots, took advantage of this opportunity to declare themselves, albeit informally, for national independence.

This manifestation of public spirit produced a profound impression upon the men of the country, and in 1907 the Storting entertained two different measures for extending full political rights—one to all women, and the other to those women who already possessed the municipal franchise.

The Conservatives, who were interested in keeping the balance of power in the hands of the propertied classes, defeated the more democratic measure, but the other passed by a vote of 96 to 25.

In 1910, largely through pressure brought to bear upon the Storting by the women voters, the tax-paying qualification was removed from the municipal franchise, and in 1911 a bill providing for its removal from the Parliamentary franchise, came within five votes of passing by the necessary two-thirds majority. In 1913 it did pass without a dissenting voice.

Extent of Woman Vote. *

* For a more complete analysis of the extend of the Norwegian women's vote see Report of Fru F. M. Qvam for Norway in the Report of the Sixth Congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, pp. 117-127, and "Woman Suffrage in Practice," by Chrystal MacMillan, Marie Stritt and Maria Verone, pp. 68-69.

Norwegian women have exercised their privilege in five municipal elections, taking place in 1910, 1904, 1907, 1910 and 1913; and in three Parliamentary elections, taking place in 1909, 1912 and 1915. Of the 1915 76 election, Consul General Ravn of New York reported that of the 380,000 women voters about 70 per cent. cast their votes.

Office Holding.

Women are eligible to Parliament and to all other elective offices. In each municipal election since women have been eligible, a number have been elected to city and county councils. In 1907 twenty women were elected members of municipal councils, and 96 women, alternates. In 1910, this number was more than doubled, 44 women having been elected members, and 178 alternates. No woman has as yet been elected to Parliament. In 1909 one woman, Miss Anna Rogstad, a teacher, was elected alternate, and in the absence of her primary, took his seat and discharged the duties of the office with dignity and efficiency. In the speech in which he welcomed this, the first woman in the Norwegian Parliament, the Speaker of the House said that he regarded the day as one of the most

important in the history of Norway, and that he believed that posterity would look upon it as one bringing honor and credit to the country.

Effect Upon Legislation.

The possession of political power by women has already noticeably increased the amount of consideration given by the Government to the welfare of women and children. Various posts, formerly closed, have been opened to women, and a number of the worst inequalities and injustices in the legal position of women have been removed. A number of the measures introduced into the present Parliament clearly show the influence of a female electorate. Both political parties have shown themselves particularly active in efforts to improve the conditions of industry for women.

FINLAND

Municipal franchise granted tax-paying women in country districts 1863

Municipal franchise granted tax-paying women in city districts 1872

Full franchise granted all women 1906

Number of women having the franchise 707,000

Percentage of women eligible who vote 54 to 60

Population Total 3,059,324

Men 1,520,810

Women 1,538,514

History.

Finland, whose men and women have together struggled for years against a foreign oppressor, extended the municipal franchise to tax-paying women living in the country in 1863, and to tax-paying women living in the cities in 1872. In 1906, after a great uprising of the people, a new

constitution 78 was granted by the Russian Czar, and the full Parliamentary suffrage for women was granted by the first Diet that convened thereafter.

Office Holding.

Since women became eligible, there has not been an election in which a number have not been elected to the Diet, the fewest being 16 and the highest 25. There were 21 in the Diet, chosen in the elections of August, 1913.

The women legislators have come from all classes of society. Among them have been teachers, writers, editors, seamstresses, doctors of philosophy, state officials, social workers, and wives of peasants, mechanics and professional men. Most of them have been over forty, and most of them have been married women. Three have had husbands sitting in the Diet with them.

J. N. Reuter, of Finland, writes: "I hear from my friends in the House—hardened and level-headed business men among them—that the women acquit themselves very creditably of their task, not only in debate but also in committee work, where their special experience often is very valuable, as concerning female labor, child legislation, education, and so on. Not only does everybody agree that it has done no harm to the community whatever, but most people 79 decidedly believe that the work of legislation derives great benefit from the presence in the House of women members."

Effect Upon Legislation.

Vera Hjelt makes an abstract from the legislation of the years 1907-1911 of the questions dealt with in the bills introduced by the women members of the Diet. They are:

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* "Woman Suffrage in Practice," p. 60.

The raising of the marriagable age of women; the relations regarding property between husband and wife; the abolition of the guardianship exercised by a man over his wife; the right of mothers with regard to their children, the endowment of motherhood; the right of women to enter every kind of Government service; the improvement of the condition of illegitimate children; the erection of homes for destitute mothers and children; increased penalties for prostitution; provision for instruction in household management; the obligation on every commune to maintain a midwife; the abolition of certain enactments concerning servants; prison reform; the establishment of rural

colonies; instruction in a trade in prison; the support of various educational institutions from the public funds; grants for the promotion of public morality with especial regard to the abolition of regulated vice; the appointment of women health inspectors; the intervention of the commune in labor disputes; the establishment of a central social bureau; the construction of new railways; the acceleration of the reform of the laws concerning the treatment of Jews; compulsory education; total prohibition of the sale of alcohol; State reformatories for inebriates; the transformation of the department of justice in the Senate into an independent Supreme Court; laws concerning associations.

However, as the Russian Imperial Council reserves the right to veto all legislation initiated by the Finns themselves, few of these measures have become operative. The women members, with, in fact, all the women of the country, have won the hearty esteem of the men by the energetic, efficient and selfless manner in which they have cooperated in all efforts to preserve Finnish autonomy against the aggressions of Russian despotism.

ICELAND

Municipal suffrage granted tax-paying windows and spinsters 1882

Municipal suffrage extended to all women 1909

Full suffrage extended to all women 1915

Approximate number of women eligible 11,000

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Estimated percentage of women eligible who vote 50 to 80

Population Total 85,188

Women 41,083

Men 44,105

History.

As was the case in Finland and Norway, public sentiment in Iceland was rendered particularly favorable to granting suffrage to women because of the active part taken by women in a general movement for national independence. In 1874, the struggle of the Icelandic people to achieve at least a measure of independence of Danish rule ended in the granting of a separate Icelandic Parliament; and in 1882 this Parliament took the first steps toward the enfranchisement of the women of the country by granting the municipal or communal franchise to tax-paying widows and spinsters. In 1909, this was widened to include all women. In 1911, a measure granting universal suffrage—that is, removing all the restrictions from the vote for both men and women of voting age—passed both Houses in Parliament. As the Constitution provides that amendments to the Constitution must pass two sessions, the bill was reintroduced in 1913, passed on August 12, 1914, and signed by the King of Denmark June 19, 1915. It fixes the voting age for 82 women of forty years, to be gradually decreased until it is the same as that of men.

Extent of Woman Vote.

In the first elections after the women got the full municipal vote, for the town council of Reykjavik in 1908, women cast 1,220 of the total 2,850 votes recorded—an extraordinarily high percentage. In the election of 1912 for town council of Reykjavik about 50 per cent. of the qualified women cast their votes.

Office Holding.

Women are eligible for all offices. Since 1908 several women have been elected to the town council of Reykjavik, the capital. Women have also been elected to the councils of other communities.

Effect Upon Legislation.

Through the use of the municipal franchise women have been able to force a marked degree of consideration of their special needs and problems in their own communities, the establishment of the municipal gas plant in Reykjavik being always attributed to their work. They have furthermore achieved official recognition of the unfair conditions of women wageworkers, thereby making an opening for future remedial legislation.

SWEDEN

Municipal franchise granted tax-paying widows and spinsters 1862

Municipal franchise granted all women on the same terms as men 1909

Approximate number of women having the Municipal franchise 1,400,000

Percentage of women eligible who vote 15.2 to 32.9

Population Total 5,521,939

Men 2,698,975

Women 2,822,968

History.

Sweden was the first country in the world to extend to women any measure of suffrage whatever. For more than a century Swedish women have had some measure of communal franchise rights, and as early as 1862 unmarried women who paid taxes were given the full municipal vote. At that time the franchise for men was so heavily encumbered with restrictions that not one-tenth of the male population was qualified to exercise it. In 1909, however, a new electoral law was enacted, removing most of the restrictions from the franchise for men and extending the municipal franchise to all women. In 1909 a bill to extend the full franchise to women was passed unanimously by the Lower House of the Riksdag, but was defeated in the Upper, which, of course, is always composed of 84 the conservative element. In 1911 the women made a special effort to secure the election of members of the Liberal and Socialist parties, both of which had included woman suffrage in their platforms. The Conservatives were driven out of power, a strong majority of members pledged to woman suffrage elected to both Houses, and a Liberal Ministry installed.

At the opening of Parliament in 1912, the new Liberal Prime Minister, who had always been a supporter of the women's movement, mentioned the necessity for this reform in his first speech to the new Liberal Cabinet, and the King, in his speech from the throne, announce that a government measure would be brought in giving women the right to vote and to be elected for all political offices. The bill passed the Lower House, but was again thrown out in the Upper. A Government

Bill passed the Lower House again in 1914, but on the outbreak of the war it was laid aside by the Senate—an action that makes possible its adoption as soon as normal conditions return.

Extent of Woman Vote. *

* Woman Suffrage in Practice,” p. 74.

Until the year 1909, when the general electoral reform law removed most of the 85 restrictions from the vote of men and gave women the communal franchise on the same terms as men, the women had apparently placed little value on their small measure of suffrage as very few took the trouble to go to the polls and record their votes. After 1909, however, the woman vote increased steadily, rising from 15.2 per cent, in 1908 to 32.9 per cent. in 1912.

Office Holding.

Women are eligible for all offices for which they vote. In the first election in which they were eligible to stand for office, in the Autumn of 1910, thirty-five were elected to town councils. In 112, eighteen more women were elected, and when the war broke out in Europe Sweden had more than sixty women town councilors.

Effect Upon Legislation.

Women have exerted a very decided influence upon municipal affairs, especially for the betterment of local conditions affecting the home, educational and philanthropic institutions, women's industrial conditions and the welfare of children; but lacking the Parliamentary vote they have so far been unable to influence national legislation to any considerable extent.

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DENMARK

Municipal franchise granted tax-paying women and wives of men who pay taxes 1908

Full suffrage extended to all women 1915

Percentage of women eligible who vote 38 to 70

Population Total 2,757,076

Men 1,337,900

Women 1,419,176

History.

Denmark did not give the municipal vote until 1908. The preceding year, 1907, it took its first step by giving women the right to vote for and to serve on boards of public charities. Between 1908 and 1914 Parliament twice entertained a measure to extend the full suffrage. Both times the bill passed in the Lower House, but was blocked in the Upper. In 1914 woman suffrage was made part of a general electoral reform measure, which became law June 5, 1915.

Extent of Woman Vote. *

* Figures for 1909 furnished by J. Clan, Consul General for Denmark in New York City. Figures for 1912 from Report for Denmark of Elsie Hansen in the Report of the Seventh Congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, p. 114.

In the elections of 1909, 50 per cent. of the eligible women voted, as compared with 76.5 per cent. of the men. As always, it was the vote of the country districts, where women cannot always leave home to get to the polls., that pulled down the average. In Copenhagen nearly 70 per cent. of the eligible women cast their ballots, and in the other cities the vote of the women ranged from 66 per cent. to 70 per cent., Whereas in some of the country districts it fell as low as 38 per cent. The actual number of women voting in all districts was 199,239, as against 328,315 men. In 1912, there was a special election in Copenhagen, in which 68.7 per cent. of the eligible women voted, as compared with 80.8 per cent. of the eligible men.

Office Holding.

Women are eligible to all the offices for which they vote, and in 1909, 127 were elected to town councils, seven to the Council of Copenhagen. Women have been appointed as police officers and municipal treasurers.

Effect Upon Legislation.

Since the outbreak of the war conditions in Denmark have not been normal, and the women's influence upon legislation has not been very's obvious. Women have succeeded in getting through Parliament a bill that provides for the omission of the word obey" from the marriage service, and have also secured some concessions in the matter of property rights. The two large woman suffrage associations are carrying on a work of political education that is fitting the women of Denmark to make a very effective use of their Parliamentary franchise now they have won it.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE

In great Britain, as in the United States, there was a movement for women's rights long before there was an organized woman suffrage movement. Mary Wollstonecraft published her "Vindication of the Rights of Women" in 1796, and in 1836 the Hon. Mrs. Norton began her long struggle for the legal recognition of the right of a mother to her children. The organized suffrage movement began in the sixties and was immensely strengthened by the support of John Stuart Mill, who, as Member of Parliament and political economist, had great influence with the thinking people of England and America. His "Subjection of Women," published in 1867, became the text-book of the suffrage movement.

In 1868, after the passage of the Second Reform bill by Parliament, it was felt by many that women as well as men could claim the vote under the new law, which extended the franchise to householders in the cities and boroughs. By an act passed 89 1852, it had been provided that "all words importing masculine gender shall be deemed and taken to include females, unless the contrary is expressly provided." As there was no express provision limiting the right to men, 5,346 women applied for registration in Manchester, and a case was brought against the registrars for refusing them. The case was decided against the women, but the immediate result of the movement was the extension of municipal suffrage in 1869 to unmarried women and widows who were householders.

Several of the self-governing dominions of the British Empire have gone beyond the mother country in enfranchising their women. New Zealand was the first^{*} British colony to give full suffrage to all women. And it is worthy of note that New Zealand took this forward step at the same time that colorado granted votes to women.

* Pitcairn Island had woman suffrage when it was formally annexed by Great Britain in 1838. Its inhabitants were descendants of a mutinous crew of Englishmen and native women. Everyone could read and write. They had no police and no jail. In 1896 a newly arrived governor abolished woman suffrage and instituted a lock-up and two policemen.

The Parliament of the Union of South africa granted municipal suffrage to women in 1914. In some cities of British India, and in Rangoon in Burma, women share the small measure of municipal voting rights possessed by men.

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NEW ZEALAND

Municipal suffrage granted all women 1886

Full suffrage granted all women 1893

Approximate number of women eligible 300,000

Percentage of women eligible who vote 74 to 85

Population Total 1,008,468

Males 531,910

Females 476,558

History.

New Zealand granted the school vote to women in 1877, the municipal vote in 1886, and the full Parliamentary vote in 1893. There are 50,000 Maoris in the islands, and the Maori women possess and exercise the right to vote equally with the white women. Several Maori men have sat in the lower House of the Legislature; But no woman can yet be a member of either House.

Extent of Woman Vote.

In the first elections, which took place only a few weeks after the measure went into effect, 85 per cent of the qualified women cast their ballots, as against 69 per cent of the men. In no election since has the vote of the women fallen below 74 per cent of the total numbers qualified, while the vote of the men has risen steadily until now it averages 75 per cent to 80 per cent of those qualified; whereas, before the women got the vote, it frequently fell below 60 per cent.

Office Holding.

Women are eligible to all elective offices, except membership in Parliament, but as yet, they have not, to any great extent, taken advantage of this right.

Effect Upon Legislation.

A striking tribute to the work of the New Zealand women was paid in 1914 in a publication issued by the Children's Bureau at Washington. New Zealand methods of caring for the health of women and children are cited as models for the world. The infant death rate of New Zealand is 51 per 1,000, less than half that of the United States.

Since women got the vote Legislative measures have been enacted making women eligible to practice at the bar; giving equal educational opportunities and honors to both sexes in common schools, high schools and universities; establishing old age pensions; providing for the licensing of servants' employment bureaus in order to protect girls from the white slave traffic; providing measures for the protection of adopted and boarded-out children; providing for the maintenance of destitute persons by their relatives; regulating property succession so as to insure provision for testator's wife, husband, or family—a fair division, regardless of sex—and the maintenance of defective and invalid children; making compulsory the maintenance of wife and family upon men, and providing that wages be paid to prisoners for the support of wife and family; creating and regulating industrial and technical schools; providing state aid for expectant mothers; preventing a deserting husband or putative father of an illegitimate child from leaving the country; providing punishment for sexual offenses; providing for humane and reformatory methods of dealing with prisoners; instituting the probation system; suppressing indecent pictures and immoral literature and plays; creating a juvenile court; making conditions of divorce equal for both sexes; providing for

compensation to women for slander; legitimatizing and giving equal property rights to children born before the marriage of parents; providing equal pay for equal work; insuring healthy conditions and a minimum wage for working women; instituting regulations against the employment of children; instituting temperance regulations; repealing the contagious disease act, under which prostitutes had to submit to medical inspection, which was found useless to minimize the evils of prostitution and humiliated the women while letting the men go free.

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AUSTRALIA

State suffrage granted in South Australia 1895

State suffrage granted in West Australia 1900

State suffrage granted in New South Wales 1902

State suffrage granted in Tasmania 1903

State suffrage granted in Queensland 1905

State suffrage granted in Victoria 1908

National suffrage granted throughout Federated Australia 1902

Number of women having franchise in Federated Australia 1,100,000

Percentage of women eligible who vote 40 to 60

Population Total 4,455,005

Males 2,141,970

Females 2,313,035

History.

In Australia an anomalous condition existed for several years because of the fact that the Federation had given full Parliamentary suffrage to women, whereas at the time the measure passed, only two of the states had granted the State franchise.

The six states united in a federation in 1902. Two, South and West Australia, had already given votes to women—South Australia in 1895 and West Australia in 1900—so that when the new Federal Parliament convened for the first time it already contained a contingent favorable to the extension of suffrage to women, and a 94 measure granting women the right to vote for members of the Federal Parliament went through at the first session. New South Wales immediately extended the state franchise, and Tasmania followed in the next year. Queensland put the measure through in 1905, and Victoria in 1908.

Extent of Woman Vote.

Official election figures show that the percentage of eligible women who actually cast their ballots in the elections for Senators is only very little lower than the percentage of eligible men who vote; and the percentage of the women's votes in the federal elections of 1915 stands at a higher figure than the percentage of men voting either in 1903 or 1906 for every State except Tasmania. It is a significant fact that, since the women got the full Parliamentary vote, the percentages for both men and women have risen in each election. The vote for the members of the House of Representatives is practically the same as the vote for the Senate since it has exactly the same electorate, the only difference being that all the votes for members of the Senate must appear in the official returns, since each election for the Senate must be contested, whereas in the case of the House many elections go uncontested, 95 and do not, therefore, appear in the returns.

In the election of 1903, 53.09 of the men-electors voted as against 39.96 of the women. In 1910 the percentage had increased to 67.5 of the men and 56.17 of the women. In 1913 the figures were 78 per cent. of the men and 71 per cent. of the women. In the most recent election—that of 1915—the percentage of the men remained at about the same figure, while the percentage of the women increased to 75 per cent.

Office Holding.

Women are eligible to both the Senate and the House of Representative of the Federal Commonwealth Parliament, but so far only South Australia and Queensland have made them

eligible to the State Legislative bodies. In one of the states are they eligible to Municipal Councils. No woman has as yet been elected to the Federal Parliament, or to either of the two State Assemblies to which they are eligible; but in 1903 and again in 1910, Miss Vida Goldstein stood for in the Federal Senate and both times polled a very large vote.

Effect Upon Legislation.

The effect of the woman vote upon legislation has, however, been marked. Since getting the franchise they have backed and 96 helped secure measures providing for equal pay for equal work; equal naturalization laws; protection of juvenile immigrants; regulation of the food and milk supplies; protection of infant life; appointment of police matrons; provision for deserted wives, and maintenance of wives of prisoners out of prisoners' earnings; establishment of juvenile courts; state support for free kindergartens and playgrounds; establishment of old age pensions and maternity grants of £5 (\$25) in respect of each child born; establishment of eight-hour day for women; state boards for the fixing of a minimum wage scale, and hours and conditions for working women; raising the age of consent for girls; and allowing women who have married foreigners to retain their own nationality.

In 1910 both Houses of the Federal Parliament passed the following resolutions:

1. That this House testifies to the facts that after sixteen years experience of woman suffrage in various parts of Australasia, and nine years' experience in the Commonwealth, the reform has justified the hopes of its supporters and falsified all the fears and prophecies of disaster voiced by its opponents.
2. That as foreseen by its advocates, its effects have been (a) to gradually educate women to a sense to their responsibility in 97 public affairs; (b) to give more prominence to social and domestic legislation.
3. That Australian experience convinces his House that to adopt woman suffrage is simply to apply to the political sphere that principle of government that secures the best results in the domestic sphere—the mutual co-operation of men and women for the individual and general welfare.

BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA

Municipal suffrage granted to women in all four Provinces—Cape Colony, Natal, Orange River Colony, and Transvaal 1914

Women made eligible to local government bodies in Natal 1914

The first elections in Natal after the new right was granted to women were in March, 1915. At Eshowe, the capital of Zululand, a woman was returned as member of the local board. At Maritzdurg, capital of Natal, the returns showed that 76 per cent. of the women voted as compared with 63 per cent. of the men.

ENGLAND AND WALES

Municipal suffrage granted to unmarried women and widows who were householders 1869

Women made eligible to city and country councils 1907

Population (1911) Total 36,075,269

Males 17,448,476

Females 18,626,793

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In England, qualified women may vote for county councils, town councils, urban district councils, rural district councils, boards of guardians for the relief of the poor, and parish councils. They cannot vote for members of the House of Commons, nor in elections for the City of London. Married women are also debarred from voting for county councils (except the London County Council) and town councils; but married women possessing certain property qualifications may vote for the London borough councils. Formerly women had also the right to vote for members of school boards, but these boards were swept away in 1902 and committees of the town or county councils substituted.

The first elections of women in England were to the school boards created by Act of Parliament in 1870. In 1875 a woman was elected a poor-law guardian. There are about 1,320 women now serving as poor-law guardians in England and Wales. Women have only been elected to town councils since 1907, and in 1914 there were twenty-one women councilors. Between 1907 and 1914 several women were chosen by the councils to the mayoralty, the first being Mrs. Lees of

Oldham. Since the outbreak of the war all important opponents of woman suffrage in England have been converted. The Conference on Electoral Reform 99 called because the war made a change in electoral qualifications necessary, recommended extending the suffrage to women. In the debate which followed in the House of Commons in March, 1917, both the present premier, Lloyd George, and former Premier Asquith strongly urged the vote for women. The Franchise Reform Bill, expanding the Parliamentary vote to women of 30 years and over, with certain other qualifications, passed its second reading May 22.

SCOTLAND

Municipal suffrage granted women on the same terms as men 1881

Women made eligible to city and county councils 1901

Population (1911) Total 4,759,445

Males 2,307,603

Females 2,451,842

The franchise for women in Scotland is rather wider than in England. Women can vote for and be members of school boards, county councils, town councils and parish councils. To qualify a woman must own or occupy real property to the value of £4 (\$20) a year, or be a householder of a house or rooms of any value. Women may also vote on a service franchise—occupying property in virtue of service; as owners of property without occupation; or as lodgers. 100 No woman in Scotland is disqualified by marriage, but she cannot qualify on the same property as her husband.

IRELAND

Municipal suffrage granted women on the same terms as men 1898

Women made eligible to city and county councils 1911

Population (1911) Total 4,381,951

Males 2,186,804

Females 2,195,147

In Ireland the franchise for women is practically the same as in Scotland.

ISLE OF MAN

Full Parliamentary suffrage granted to women property-owners 1881

Full Parliamentary suffrage extended to women tax-payers 1892

Population (1911) Total 52,034

Males 23,953

Females 28,081

The Parliament of the Isle of Man is called the House of Keys. It has all the powers of a state legislature.

DOMINION OF CANADA

There is no special franchise for voters in the Dominion Parliamentary elections. The qualifications are such as entitle any 101 person to vote in each province at an election for the provincial legislature. Nevertheless, the Dominion Parliament in 1916 refused to accept women's votes in the provinces where they were enfranchised.

Total population of Dominion, 1911 7,081,869

Number of voters at Parliamentary election, 1911 1,307,483

Throughout all the provinces of Canada the municipal franchise is more limited than the parliamentary franchise. To qualify for the municipal or school vote, a man or woman must own real estate, be a householder, or pay income tax. In some provinces the right is extended to the sons of farmers; and in some to the husbands of women who would be qualified, but who are excluded on account of sex, and in one to the wives of qualified voters.

QUEBEC

Municipal suffrage granted to property-owning widows and spinsters 1884

Municipal suffrage extended to widows and spinsters who are householders. 1909

Total population in 1911 2,003,232

Males 1,011,502

Females 991,730

Widows and spinsters, owning or occupying property in their own names, enjoy the school suffrage in Quebec, but they are 102 not eligible as school commissioners. Husbands of women owning or occupying property are qualified to vote in respect of their wives' property.

ONTARIO

Municipal suffrage granted to property-owning widows and spinsters 1884

Provincial suffrage extended to women 1917

Total population in 1911 2,523,274

Males 1,299,290

Females 1,223,984

Widows and spinsters who pay taxes as owners or occupiers of real estate, or who pay a tax on an income of not less than \$400 a year, may vote in municipal elections and for school boards. Husbands of women who would be qualified, if single, may vote in respect of their wives' qualifications.

In 1914, an act to extent the municipal and school suffrage to qualified married women was defeated; although in a referendum held in Toronto a few weeks before the bill was introduced, 26,288 had voted in favor of the measure as against 13,713 against. In February, 1917, the provincial

legislature passed a bill extending full provincial franchise to women. This did not give them the right to sit in the legislature.

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NEW BRUNSWICK

Municipal suffrage extended to taxpaying windows and spinsters 1886

Total population in 1911 351,889

Males 179,867

Females 172,022

In St. John and in some other towns and cities the school boards are appointed. In these cases it is obligatory that some of the members shall be women. Where the school boards are elected, qualified women—widows and spinsters—have the right to vote, and are eligible to the boards.

NOVA SCOTIA

Municipal suffrage granted to all property-owning women, except those whose husbands are voters 1886

Total population in 1911 492,338

Males 251,019

Females 241,319

The qualification for the municipal vote is the possession of real estate assessed at \$150 or personal property assessed at \$300; but a married woman whose husband is entitled to vote is disqualified. Women cannot qualify as householders, but a man can be a voter who occupies real estate of the value of \$150.

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In March, 1917, a bill granting women the right to practice law passed the Legislature and a bill granting full suffrage was indefinitely postponed after passing the second reading.

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND

Municipal suffrage granted property-owning windows and spinsters 1886

Total population in 1911 93,728

Males 47,069

Females 46,659

The municipal vote is granted to women in Prince Edward Island by virtue of town and city charters. In Charlottetown the right is extended to all tax-paying widows and spinsters. Qualified women have the right to vote for school boards and are eligible to them.

MANITOBA

Municipal suffrage granted to property-owning windows and spinsters 1886

Full suffrage granted women 1916

Total population in 1911 455,614

Males 250,056

Females 205,558

All property-holding women, whether married or unmarried, had the municipal 105 and school franchise, and voting women were eligible as school trustees before 1916. In 1916, all women over 21, British citizens and residents of the province and town, were given the right to vote for members of parliament. As the provincial electoral lists are those also of the Dominion elections it was expected that the right would extend to Dominion as well as to provincial parliamentary elections. But so far the Dominion Parliament has refused to confirm by resolution the action of the provincial parliaments. Women in Manitoba may not become members of parliament nor of the municipal councils. But women voters may be elected to the school boards.

SASKATCHEWAN

Municipal suffrage granted to property-owning women 1886

Provincial suffrage granted to women 1916

Total population in 1911 492,432

Males 291,730

Females 200,702

Saskatchewan was organized as a province in 1905, but women had enjoyed the municipal suffrage while it was still a territory. In 1916, almost immediately after the passage of the act in Manitoba enfranchising women, Saskatchewan also adopted 106 equal suffrage. The qualification for voters for members of the provincial parliament are that the voters must be a British subject, must have resided in Saskatchewan for 12 months and in the electoral district for three months immediately preceding the date of the election. For the municipal vote there is the qualification that the voter must be the owner or occupier of assessable property in the municipality. Wives cannot yet qualify as joint owners or occupants with their husbands, but a bill has been promised to enable them to do so.

ALBERTA

Municipal suffrage granted to property-owning widows and spinsters 1886

Provincial suffrage granted to women 1916

Population in 1911 374,663

Males 223,989

Females 150,674

Alberta, like Saskatchewan, was organized as a province with some degree of woman suffrage already in its constitution. Between 1911 and 1913, the suffrage was extended in towns, villages,

rural districts, and finally in the of Edmonton, to all tax-paying women whether married or unmarried. Qualified women were eligible to the school boards, but not to the municipal councils.

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Like Saskatchewan, Alberta granted votes to women early in 1916. The act was more inclusive than the Manitoba act, for at the same time that women were given the vote for members of parliament, they were made eligible to all offices for which they were voters. There was considerable discontent in Alberta as well as in the other provinces at the refusal of the Dominion Parliament to accept women as electors for the Dominion Parliament, as this refusal had not been anticipated when the equal suffrage act was passed.

BRITISH COLUMBIA

Municipal suffrage granted to property-owning widows and spinsters 1886

Full suffrage granted to women 1916

Population in 1911 392,480

Males 251,619

Females 140,861

In 1911, the right to vote in municipal elections was extended to married women, as well as widows and spinsters. To qualify, a man or woman had to own real estate to the assessed value of \$100, or pay a trader's license fee \$5 a year, or be a householder. These qualifications still hold for the municipal vote, but the parliamentary franchise is on the wider basis, requiring only that the 108 voter be 21, a British subject and resident of the district in which he or she registers.

Early in 1916, the British Columbia legislature passed an act providing for the submission of the questions of prohibition and woman suffrage to the electors. The vote was taken on September 13th, and resulted in large majorities for both questions. In Vancouver, the largest of the cities, the vote on woman suffrage was 1,178 in favor and 738 against, and the province gave about a two-thirds majority for woman suffrage. Owing to the fact that the soldiers in England and at the front had the privilege of voting, the results of the election were not announced until December 1st. The majority for suffrage was more than two to one, and votes for women were favored both by the soldiers and the civilian electors.

With the extension of the vote to the women of Ontario, an area extending almost from Atlantic to Pacific and from the American boundary line to the icebound regions of the Northwest Territories and Yukon was added to the equal suffrage area of the North American Continent. The five provinces cover 1,521,934 square miles—an area more than ten times that of all the New England States together with New York and New Jersey. The total population in 1911 was 4,246,463, about 109 three million being added when the well-populated eastern province gained the vote in 1917.

YUCATAN (MEXICO)

Population 337,020

Men 21 years and over 81,519

Women 21 years and over 84,389

A conference of women met in Merida, Yucata, several weeks before the new Mexican Constitution was promulgated. A resolution recommending that the vote be given women was adopted. The suffrage clause of the new Constitution contains no reference to sex. It reads as follows:

“Article 34.—Mexican citizenship shall be enjoyed only by those Mexicans who have the following qualifications: Are over 21 years of age, if unmarried, and over 18, if married; have an honest means of livelihood.

“Article 35.—The prerogatives of citizens are: To vote at popular elections; to be eligible for any elective office and be qualified for any other office or commission provided they have the other qualifications required by law.”

Señorita Galindo, of Yucatan, ran for the Mexican Congress, but no women are known to have voted as yet.

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ARGUMENTS- Why Women Should VoteBy Jane Addams

For many generations it has been believed that woman's place is within the walls of her own home, and it is indeed impossible to imagine the time when her duty there shall be ended or to forecast any social change which shall release her from that paramount obligation.

This paper is an attempt to show that many women to-day are failing to discharge their duties to their own households properly simply because they do not perceive that as society grows more complicated it is necessary that woman shall extend her sense of responsibility to many things outside of her own home if she would continue to preserve the home in its entirety. One could illustrate in many ways. A woman's simplest duty, one would say, is to keep her house clean and wholesome, and to feed her children properly. Yet if she lives in a tenement house, as so many of my neighbors do, she cannot fulfill these simple obligations by her own efforts because she is utterly dependent upon the city administration ¹¹¹ for the conditions which render decent living possible. Her basement will not be dry, her stairways will not be fireproof, her house will not be provided with sufficient windows to give light and air, nor will it be equipped with sanitary plumbing, unless the Public Works Department sends inspectors who constantly insist that these elementary decencies be provided. Women who live in the country sweep their own dooryards and may either feed the refuse of the table to a flock of chickens or allow it innocently to decay in the open air and sunshine. In a crowded city quarter, however, if the street is not cleaned by the city authorities, no amount of private sweeping will keep the tenement free from grime; if the garbage is not properly collected and destroyed, a tenement house mother may see her children sicken and die of diseases from which she alone is powerless to shield them, although her tenderness and devotion are unbounded. She cannot even secure untainted meat for her household, she cannot provide fresh fruit, unless the meat has been inspected by city officials, and the decayed fruit, which is so often placed upon sale in the tenement districts, has been destroyed in the interests of public health. In short, if woman would keep on with her old business of caring ¹¹² for her house and rearing her children, she will have to have some conscience in regard to public affairs lying quite outside of her immediate household. The individual conscience and devotion are no longer effective.

Chicago one spring had a spreading contagion of scarlet fever just at the time that the school nurses had been discontinued because business men had pronounced them too expensive. If the women who sent their children to the schools had been sufficiently public-spirited and had been provided with an implement through which to express that public spirit, they would have insisted that the schools be supplied with nurses in order that their own children might be protected from contagion. In other words, if women would effectively continue their old avocations they must take part in the slow upbuilding of that code of legislation which is alone sufficient to protect the home from the dangers incident to modern life. One might instance the many deaths of children from contagious diseases the germs of which had been carried in tailored clothing. Country doctors testify as to the outbreak of scarlet fever in remote neighborhoods each autumn, after the children have begun to wear the winter overcoats and ¹¹³ cloaks which have been sent from infected city sweatshops. That their mothers mend their stockings and guard them from "taking cold" is not a sufficient protection, when the tailoring of the family is done in a distant city under conditions which the mother cannot

possibly control. The sanitary regulation of sweatshops by city officials is all that can be depended upon to prevent such needless destruction. Who shall say that women are not concerned in the enactment and enforcement of such legislation if they would preserve their homes?

Even women who take no part in public affairs, in order that they may give themselves entirely to their own families, sometimes going so far as to despise those other women who are endeavoring to secure protective legislation, may illustrate this point. The Hull-House neighborhood was at one time suffering from a typhoid epidemic. A careful investigation was made by which we were able to establish a very close connection between the typhoid and a mode of plumbing which made it most probable that the infection had been carried by flies. Among the people who had been exposed to the infection was a widow who had lived in the ward for a number of years, in a comfortable little house which she owned. 114 Although the Italian immigrants were closing in all around her, she was not willing to sell her property and to move away, until she had finished the education of her children. In the meantime she held herself quite aloof from her Italian neighbors and could never be drawn into any of the public efforts to protect them by securing a better code of tenement house sanitation. Her two daughters were sent to an Eastern college; one June, when one of them had graduated and the other still had two years before she took her degree, they came to the spotless little house, and to their self-sacrificing mother for the Summer's holidays. They both fell ill, not because their own home was not clean, not because their mother was not devoted, but because next door to them and also in the rear were wretched tenements, and because the mother's utmost efforts could not keep the infection out of her own house. One daughter died, and one recovered, but was an invalid for two years following. This is, perhaps, a fair illustration of the futility of the individual conscience when woman insists upon isolating her family from the rest of the community and its interests. The result is sure to be a pitiful failure.

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One of the interesting experiences in the Chicago campaign for inducing the members of the Charter Convention to recommend municipal franchise for women in the provisions of the new charter was the unexpected enthusiasm and help which came from large groups of foreign-born women. The Scandinavian women represented in many Lutheran Church societies said quite simply that in the old country they had had the municipal franchise upon the same basis as men for many years; all the women living under the British Government, in England, Australia or Canada, pointed out that Chicago women were asking now for what the British women had long ago. But the most unexpected response came from the foreign colonies in which women had never heard such problems discussed, and took the prospect of the municipal ballot as a simple device—which it is—to aid them in their daily struggle with adverse city conditions. The Italian women said that the men engaged in railroad construction were away all summer and did not know anything about their

household difficulties. Some of them came to Hull-House one day to talk over the possibility of a public wash-house. They do not like to wash in their own tenements; they had never seen a 116 washing-tub until they came to America, and find it very difficult to use it in the restricted space of their little kitchens and to hang the clothes within the house to dry. They say that in the Italian villages the women all go to the streams together; in the town they go to the public wash-house; and washing, instead of being lonely and disagreeable, is made pleasant by cheerful conversation. It is asking a great deal of these women to change suddenly all their habits of living, and their contention that the tenement house kitchen is too small for laundry work is well taken. If women in Chicago knew the needs of the Italian colony they would realize that any change bringing cleanliness and fresh air into the Italian household would be a very sensible and hygienic measure. It is, perhaps, asking a great deal that the members of the City Council should understand this, but surely a comprehensive of the needs of these women and efforts toward ameliorating their lot might be regarded as matters of municipal obligation on the part of voting women.

The same thing is true of the Jewish women in their desire for covered markets which have always been a municipal provision in Russia and Poland. The vegetables piled high upon the wagons 117 standing in the open markets of Chicago become covered with dust and soot. It seems to these women a violation of the most rudimentary decencies and they sometimes say quite simply: "If women had anything to say about it they would change all that."

If women follow only the lines of their traditional activities, here are certain primary duties which belong to even the most conservative women, and which no one woman or group of women can adequately discharge unless they join the more general movements looking toward social amelioration through legal enactment.

The first of these, of which this article has already treated, is woman's responsibility for the members of her own household that they may be properly fed and clothed and surrounded by hygienic conditions. The second is a responsibility for the education of children: (a) that they may be provided with good books; (b) that they may be kept free from vicious influences on the street; (c) that when working they may be protected by adequate child-labor legislation.

(a) The duty of a woman toward the schools which her children attend is so obvious that it is not necessary to dwell upon it. But even this simple obligation 118 cannot be effectively carried out without some form of social organization, as the mothers' school clubs and mothers' congresses testify, and to which the most conservative women belong because they feel the need of wider reading and discussion concerning the many problems of childhood. It is, therefore, perhaps natural that the public should have been more willing to accord a vote to women in school matters than in any other, and yet women have never been members of a Board of Education in sufficient numbers

to influence largely actual school curricula. If they had been kindergartens, domestic science courses and school playgrounds would be far more numerous than they are. More than one woman has been convinced of the need of the ballot by the futility of her efforts in persuading a business man that young children need nurture in something besides the three r's. Perhaps, too, only women realize the influence which the school might exert upon the home if a proper adaptation to actual needs were considered. An Italian girl who has had lessons in cooking at the public school will help her mother to connect the entire family with American food and household habits. That the mother has never baked bread in Italy—only mixed it in her own house and then taken it out to the village oven—makes it all the more necessary that her daughter should understand the complications of a cooking-stove. The same thing is true of the girl who learns to sew in the public school, and more than anything else, perhaps, of the girl who receives the first simple instruction in the care of little children, that skillful care which every tenement house baby requires if he is to be pulled through his second summer. The only time, to my knowledge, that lessons in the care of children were given in the public schools of Chicago was one summer when the vacation schools were being managed by a volunteer body of women. The instructions were eagerly received by the Italian girls, who had been “little mothers” to younger children ever since they could remember.

As a result of this teaching I recall a young girl who carefully explained to her Italian mother that the reason the babies in Italy were so healthy and the babies in Chicago were so sickly was not, as her mother had always firmly insisted, because her babies in Italy had goat's milk and her babies in America had cow's milk, but because the milk in Italy was clean and the milk in Chicago was dirty. She said that when you milked your own goat before the door you knew that the milk was clean, but when you bought milk from the grocery store after it had been carried for many miles in the country, “you couldn't tell whether or not it was fit for baby to drink until the men from the City Hall, who had watched it all the way, said that it was all right.” She also informed her mother that the “City Hall wanted to fix up the milk so that it couldn't make the baby sick, but that they hadn't quite enough votes for it yet.” The Italian mother believed what her child had been taught in the big school; it seemed to her quite as natural that the city should be concerned in providing pure milk for her younger children as that it should provide big schools and teachers for her older children. She reached this naive conclusion because she had never heard those arguments which make it seem reasonable that a woman should be given the school franchise, but no other.

(b) But women are also beginning to realize that children need attention outside of school hours; that much of the petty vice in cities is merely the love of pleasure gone wrong, the over-restrained boy or girl seeking improper recreation and excitement. It is obvious that a little study of the needs of children, a sympathetic understanding of the conditions under which they go astray, might save hundreds of them. Women traditionally have had an opportunity to observe the plays of

children and the needs of youth, and yet in Chicago, at least, they had done singularly little in this vexed problem of juvenile delinquency until they helped to inaugurate the Juvenile Court movement a dozen years ago. The Juvenile Court Committee, made up largely of women, paid the salaries of the probation officers connected with the court for the first six years of its existence, and after the salaries were cared for by the county the same organization turned itself into a Juvenile Protective League, and through a score of paid officers are doing valiant service in minimizing some of the dangers of city life which boys and girls encounter.

This Protective League, however, was not formed until the women had had a civic training through their semi-official connection with the Juvenile Court. This is, perhaps, an illustration of our inability to see the duty "next to hand" until we have become alert through our knowledge of conditions in connection with the larger duties. We would all agree that social amelioration must come about through the efforts of many people who are moved thereto by the compunction and stirring of the individual conscience, but we are only beginning to understand that the individual conscience will respond to the special challenge largely in proportion as the individual is able to see the social conditions because he has felt responsible for their improvement. Because this body of women assumed a public responsibility they have seen to it that every series of pictures displayed in the five-cent theatre is subjected to a careful censorship before it is produced, and those series suggesting obscenity and criminality have been practically eliminated. The police department has performed this and many other duties to which it was oblivious before, simply because these women have made it realize that it is necessary to protect and purify those places of amusement which are crowded with young people every night. This is but the negative side of the policy pursued by the public authorities in the fifteen small parks of Chicago, each of which is provided with halls in which young people may meet nightly for social gatherings and dances. The more extensively the modern city endeavors on the one hand to control and on the other hand to provide recreational facilities for its young people, the more necessary it is that women should assist in their direction and extension. After all, a care for wholesome and innocent amusement is what women have for many years assumed. When the reaction comes on the part of taxpayers, women's votes may be necessary to keep the city to its beneficent obligations towards its own young people.

(c) As the education of her children has been more and more transferred to the school, so that even children four years old go to the kindergarten, the woman has been left in a household of constantly narrowing interests, not only because the children are away, but also because one industry after another is slipping from the household into the factory. Ever since steam power has been applied to the processes of weaving and spinning woman's traditional work has been carried on largely outside of the home. The clothing and household linen are not only spun and woven, but also usually sewed by machinery; the preparation of many foods has also passed into the factory and necessarily a

certain number of women have been obliged to follow their work there; although it is doubtful, in spite of the large number of factory girls, whether women now are doing as large a proportion of the world's work as they used to ¹²⁴ do. Because many thousands of those working in factories and shops are girls between the ages of fourteen and twenty-two, there is a necessity that older women should be interested in the conditions of industry. The very fact that these girls are not going to remain in industry permanently makes it more important that some one should see to it that they shall not be incapacitated for their future family life because they work for exhausting hours and under insanitary conditions.

If woman's sense of obligation had enlarged as the industrial condition changed, she might naturally and almost imperceptibly have inaugurated the movements for social amelioration in the line of factory legislation and shop sanitation. That she has not done so is doubtless due to the fact that her conscience is slow to recognize any obligation outside of her own family circle, and because she was so absorbed in her own household that she failed to see what the conditions outside actually were. It would be interesting to know how far the consciousness that she had no vote and could not change matters operated in this direction. After all, we see only those things to which our attention has been drawn, we feel responsibility for those things which are brought to us as matters ¹²⁵ of responsibility. If conscientious women were convinced that it was a civic duty to be informed in regard to these grave industrial affairs, and then to express the conclusions which they had reached by depositing a piece of paper in a ballot-box, one cannot imagine that they would shirk simply because the action ran counter to old traditions.

To those of my readers who would admit that, although woman has no right to shirk her old obligations, all of these measures could be secured more easily through her influence upon the men of her family than through the direct use of the ballot. I should like to tell a little story. I have a friend in Chicago who is the mother of four sons and the grandmother of twelve grandsons who are voters. She is a woman of wealth, of secured social position, of sterling character and clear intelligence, and may therefore, quite fairly be cited as a "woman of influence". Upon one of her recent birthdays, when she was asked how she had kept so young, she promptly replied: "Because I have always advocated at least one unpopular cause." It may have been in pursuance of this policy that for many years she has been an ardent advocate of free silver, although her manufacturing family are all Republicans. I happened ¹²⁶ to call at her house on the day that Mr. McKinley was elected President against Mr. Bryan for the first time. I found my friend much disturbed. She said somewhat bitterly that she had at last discovered what the much-vaunted influence of woman was worth; that she had implored each one of her sons and grandsons; had entered into endless arguments and moral appeals to induce one of them to represent her convictions by voting for Mr. Bryan; that, although sincerely devoted to her, each one had assured her that his convictions

forced him to vote the Republican ticket! She said that all she had been able to secure was the promise from one of the grandsons, for whom she had an especial tenderness, because he bore her husband's name, that he would not vote at all. He could not vote for Bryan, but out of respect for her feeling he would refrain from voting for McKinley. My friend said that for many years she had suspected that women could influence men only in regard to those things in which men were not deeply concerned, but when it came to persuading a man to a woman's views in affairs of politics or business it was absolutely useless. I contended that a woman had no right to persuade a man to vote against his own convictions; that I respected the men of 127 her family for following their own judgment regardless of the appeal which the honored head of the house had made to their chivalric devotion. To this she replied that she would agree with that point of view when a woman had the same opportunity as a man to register her convictions by vote. I believed then as I do now, that nothing is gained when independence of judgment is assailed by "influence," sentimental or otherwise, and that we test advancing civilization somewhat by our power to respect differences and by our tolerance of another's honest conviction.

This is, perhaps, the attitude of many busy women who would be glad to use the ballot to further public measures in which they are interested and for which they have been working for years. It offends the taste of such a woman to be obliged to use indirect "influence" when she is accustomed to well-bred, open action in other affairs, and she very much resents the time spent in persuading a voter to take her point of view, and possibly to give up his own quite as honest and valuable as hers, although different because resulting from a totally different experience. Public-spirited women who wish to use the ballot, as I know them, do not wish to do the work of men nor 128 to take over men's affairs. They simply want an opportunity to do their own work and to take care of those affairs which naturally and historically belong to women, but which are constantly being overlooked and slighted in our political institutions.

In a complex community like the modern city all points of view need to be represented; the resultants of diverse experiences need to be pooled, if the community would make for sane and balanced progress. If it would meet fairly each problem as it arises, whether it be connected with a freight tunnel having to do largely with business men, or with the increasing death rate among children under five years of age, a problem in which women are vitally concerned, or with the question of more adequate street-car transfers, in which both men and women might be said to be equally interested, it must not ignore the judgments of its entire adult population.

To turn the administration of our civic affairs wholly over to men may mean that the American city will continue to push forward in its commercial and industrial development, and continue to lag behind in those things which make a city healthful and beautiful. After all, woman's traditional

function has been to make her 129 dwelling-place both clean and fair. Is that dreariness in city life, that lack of domesticity which the humblest farm dwelling presents, due to a withdrawal of one of the naturally co-operating forces? If women have in any sense been responsible for the gentler side of life which softens and blurs some of its harsher conditions, may they not have a duty to perform in our American cities?

In closing, may I recapitulate that if woman would fulfill her traditional responsibility to her own children; if she would educate and protect from danger factory children who must find their recreation on the street; if she would bring the cultural forces to bear upon our materialistic civilization; and if she would do it all with the dignity and directness fitting one who carries on her immemorial duties, then she must bring herself to the use of the ballot—that latest implement for self-government. May we not fairly say the American women need this implement in order to preserve the home?

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Do You Know?

DO YOU KNOW that the women of one-fourth of the States of the Union voted for President in 1916, and that these states are: Illinois, Montana, Wyoming, Kansas, Colorado, Idaho, Utah, Washington, California, Oregon, Nevada, Arizona?

DO YOU KNOW that the women of all the woman suffrage states, except Illinois, where the Legislature gave them the right to vote for President and certain other officials, voted upon precisely the same terms as the men, and that this is also true of Alaska?

DO YOU KNOW that after the election the Legislature of North Dakota, Ohio, Indiana, Rhode Island, Michigan and Nebraska gave women presidential suffrage, and Arkansas the right to vote at the primaries?

DO YOU KNOW that while the vote of the states whose women got full suffrage between 1910 and 1914 increased more than in proportion to the number of women enfranchised, the vote of four of their male suffrage neighbors actually went down in 1914?

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DO YOU KNOW that the number of stay-at-home male voters is so large that the Presidential vote of 1912 was almost 150,000 smaller than that of 1908 though the number of males of voting age had increased over two million? In Australia in the first elections in which women voted, taking place

in 1903, 53 per cent. of the men eligible cast their ballots; in 1906, 56 per cent., and in 1910, 67 per cent.

DO YOU KNOW that there has never been a man or woman of respectability and prominence in one of our suffrage states who has publicly said that woman suffrage has not been a success, but on the contrary, every governor, chief justice and other prominent official has repeatedly declared that woman suffrage is so entrenched in the approval of the people that no power will ever remove it?

DO YOU KNOW that in all white territory in Canada and the United States on the map on next page women have full suffrage and in the black none? Note that the black territory is Central America, the frozen North, and the very conservative East and South. Women vote in nearly half the territory of the United States.

DO YOU KNOW that no state or country which has ever extended the suffrage 132 to women has taken it away? A fact which would not be true if suffrage had in any way injured women, or men, or the home, or in any way harmed the community interests.

DO YOU KNOW that "Votes for Women" is a world question and that women

White-Full Suffrage

Dotted-Presidential Suffrage

Crosses-Primary Suffrage

Black-No Suffrage vote on the same terms as men in Finland, Norway, Iceland and Denmark in Europe, and in the great British colonies of Australia, Tasmania and New Zealand, in the Isle of Man and in five 133 provinces of Canada; that they vote on all questions except one—that of election of Members of Parliament—in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales and Sweden?

DO YOU KNOW that the women of Finland vote in all elections upon the same terms as men, and that since their enfranchisement in 1906, from sixteen to twenty-five have been elected to the different Parliaments?

DO YOU KNOW that in Norway all women have the full Parliamentary vote, and that in 1910 one woman sat in the Norwegian Parliament, and that numbers of women are serving a members and alternates to city councils?

DO YOU KNOW that the women of Iceland have the full Parliamentary franchise and that since 1902 one-fourth of the members of the council of the capital city have been women?

DO YOU KNOW that in Sweden women have had some measure of suffrage since the eighteenth century, that in 1862 unmarried women who had to pay taxes were given the municipal franchise, and that in 1909 this right was extended to all women; that, furthermore, it is only a matter of a little time before women 134 will have the full Parliamentary vote? The measure twice passed the Lower House of the Swedish Parliament and had the support of the King and the Prime Minister. It was opposed only by the aristocrats of the Upper House. In 1914, after the outbreak of the war it was again passed by the Lower House but was laid aside by the Senate.

DO YOU KNOW that in Denmark all women who pay taxes and the wives of men who pay taxes were given the municipal franchise in 1908, and that the measure to extend to them the full Parliamentary vote passed the Lower House in two successive sessions of Parliament in 1913 and 1914, and that on June 5, 1915, it was signed by the King, in spite of the effort made by its opponents to have it postponed on account of the war? This measure extends the franchise to practically all men and women.

DO YOU KNOW that the main opponents of woman suffrage in England, including Asquith, Lord Northcliffe, Lloyd George, were supporters of the bill giving the vote to women over thirty, which has in May passed its second reading?

DO YOU KNOW that in 1916 and 135 1917 five Canadian provinces—Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, British Columbia, Ontario—gave full suffrage to women, and that in British Columbia, where a popular vote was taken on the question, the majority in favor of it was more than two to one?

DO YOU KNOW that in the other four provinces of Canada—Quebec, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island—unmarried women and widows have the municipal franchise on the same terms as men, while in Nova Scotia married women whose husbands are not voters can qualify?

DO YOU KNOW that when an Irishman comes to America he gets more suffrage than he had in Ireland no matter where he goes, but when an Irishwoman comes she loses the vote she had at home unless she settles in one of the twelve suffrage states?

DO YOU KNOW that every candidate for President in 1916 endorsed suffrage for women and that every national party platform contained a suffrage plank?

DO YOU KNOW that women have 136 the municipal vote in Rangoon, the capital of Burmah; in Belize, the capital of British Honduras; and in the cities of Baroda and Bombay in British India; and that in certain provinces of Austria, Hungary and Russia they have limited communal franchise rights?

DO YOU KNOW that within the past year the subject of woman suffrage has been considered in the National Parliaments of 17 countries; that the revolutionary government in China pledged itself to woman suffrage, and that women voted in one province; that in France before the war a special commission appointed to investigate the question recommended that the full franchise be extended to women as rapidly as may be deemed feasible, and that the municipal franchise be granted immediately?

DO YOU KNOW that since the war began women have been appointed to official positions in Germany and France? Mlle. Jeanne Tardy is the first woman official in the French Ministry of Finance, and Fraulein Else Lueders is a member of Gen. Groener's War Staff and consultant of the Government in regard to the protection of women war workers.

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DO YOU KNOW that the suffrage is practically assured to the women of Russia? Popular sentiment approves; Prince Lvoff, Premier of the Provisional Government, has promised women the right to vote in the elections for the constituent assembly and the Congress of the Council of Workers and Soldiers Delegates has demanded that women have the same voting rights as men.

DO YOU KNOW that the Denver Chamber of Commerce passed a resolution endorsing suffrage a few months ago, and that later, for the same purpose, seventy of the most representative business men of Denver, including twelve bank presidents, issued a strong endorsement of woman suffrage?

DO YOU KNOW that Colorado, where women have voted twenty-three years, is enjoying a period of greater prosperity than ever before in her history? That she has grown steadily by long strides from poverty to great wealth under woman suffrage? The public institutions of Colorado are worth \$254,000,000. Her bonded debt is small; her tax rate is notably low. Denver, her largest city, is so economical in her expenditures 138 that she is listed by the Bureau of the Census as one of seven cities which have an excess of revenues over expenditures. The banking business in 1916 has increased by twenty million over the business done in 1915. The reserve now in the banks is 10 per cent. greater than that required by law, which indicates that the growth is sound. The banks report that people all over the state are paying old accounts and lifting mortgages in unprecedented numbers.

DO YOU KNOW that the State Treasurers of every Suffrage State have declared that woman suffrage has not appreciably increased election expenses? Denver, last year, recorded the lowest per capita cost of voting (14c.) of the larger cities of the United States. In Cheyenne, Wyoming, voting costs 10c. per capita, a less sum than in any city of its size. In the same year New York paid 27c. per capita and Chicago 32c., but for the five cents which Chicago paid more than New York, Chicago voted men and women—the largest number of voters ever voting in any city in America. The cost per voter in New York is \$1.60, in Chicago on 57c.

DO YOU KNOW any good reason why women should be taxed to pay election 139 expenses for men? Isn't it fair to let some of their tax money be used to print their own ballots?

DO YOU KNOW that since women had the vote in California one legislature passed more constructive legislation than had been passed in the previous decade? At the same time, though these laws necessitated new government activities, government expenses increased at a 5 per cent. lower rate than in the previous five-year period.

DO YOU KNOW that the tax rate of the equal suffrage states shines by comparison with that of male suffrage states? California has no state tax. Five equal suffrage states have rates of between \$1.20 and \$3.34 per \$1,000. Only four states have a rate as high as \$5.00 or over. Two have \$8.00. With the male suffrage states the case is far otherwise; exactly half have a rate of \$5.00 and over. Ten male suffrage states show tax rates in the teens, the twenties and the thirties.

DO YOU KNOW that Kansas, where women have had the school suffrage since 1861. municipal suffrage since 1887, and full suffrage since 1912, in January, 1916, paid off its last dollar and cleared itself of indebtedness? Many states have no bonded debt because their constitutions 140 will not allow them to raise money this way, but Kansas is the only state which, having had a bonded debt, has cleared it off.

DO YOU KNOW that the per capita wealth of many of the equal suffrage states is among the largest in the United States? Kansas has one of the highest rates in the United States, and Kansas has the largest per capita bank deposits of any state. Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Utah, and Colorado stand almost as high as Kansas.

DO YOU KNOW that women **DO** want the vote? These women have said so:

International Council of Women, representing over 7,000,000 women.

General Federation of Women's Clubs, representing over 2,000,000 women.

Every State Federation of Women's Clubs where women vote, and many where they do not vote.

National Women's Trade Union League.

National Order of Maccabees.

International Council of Nurses.

World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

National Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

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American Nurses' Association.

National Women's Relief Corps.

DO YOU KNOW that women should have the vote? These men and women have said so:

National Education Association (the teachers of your land).

National Grange (men and women farmers).

Farmers' National Congress.

American Federation of Labor.

United Mine Workers of America.

National Purity Conference.

National Association of Letter Carriers.

National Association of Post Office Clerks.

International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen.

Grand Council of United Commercial Travellers.

Yearly Meeting Society of Friends.

General Conference Methodists Episcopal Church.

DO YOU KNOW that extending the franchise to women actually increases the proportion of intelligent voters; that there is now and has been for years, according to the report of the Commissioner of Education, one-third more girls in the high schools of the country than boys; and that, according to the last census, 142 the illiterate men of the country greatly outnumbered the illiterate women?

DO YOU KNOW that extending the suffrage to women increases the moral vote; that in all states and countries that have adopted equal suffrage the vote of the disreputable women is practically negligible, the slum wards of cities invariably having the lightest woman vote and respectable residence wards the heaviest; that only one out of every twenty criminals is a woman; that women constitute a minority of drunkards and petty misdemeanants; that for every prostitute there are at least two men responsible for her immorality; that in all the factors that tend to handicap the progress of society, women form a minority, whereas in churches, schools and all organizations working for the uplift of humanity, women are a majority?

DO YOU KNOW of any instance when woman have tried to get bad laws enacted; or of any instance when women didn't support an effort to get good laws made and enforced?

DO YOU KNOW that the legislatures of some of the suffrage states, the Australian Parliament, and numbers of the most representative people, both men 143 and women, in all the suffrage states and countries have testified time and again in print and over their own signatures, that woman suffrage has brought none of the evils which its opponents fear, but has, instead, been productive of much positive good; that it has enlarged the outlook of women, increased their intelligence and self-reliance, rendered homes happier, ennobled men and dignified politics; that in all the places where women vote, the opponents, thus far, have not been able to find a dozen respectable men to assert, over their own names and addresses, that it has had any bad results; that more than five hundred organizations—state, national and international other than woman suffrage associations—aggregating approximately a membership of over 50,000,000, have officially endorsed woman suffrage?

DO YOU KNOW any sound, logical reason why women should not have the vote? You can have no such reasons, for they do not exist.

Objections Answered by Alice Stone Blackwell- Why Should Women Vote?

The reasons why women should vote are the same as the reasons why men should vote—the same as the reasons for having a republic rather than a monarchy. It is fair and right that the people who must obey the laws should have a voice in choosing the law-makers, and that those who must pay the taxes should have a voice as to the amount of the tax, and the way in which the money shall be spent.

Roughly stated, the fundamental principle of a republic is this: In deciding what is to be done, we take everybody's opinion, and then go according to the wish of the majority. As we cannot suit everybody, we do what will suit the greatest number. That seems to be, on the whole, the fairest way. A vote is simply a written expression of opinion.

In thus taking a vote to get at the wish of the majority, certain classes of persons are passed over, whose opinions for one reason or another are thought not to be worth counting. In most of our states, 145 these classes are children, aliens, idiots, lunatics, criminals and women. There are good and obvious reasons for making all these exceptions but the last. Of course no account ought to be taken of the opinions of children, insane persons, or criminals. Is there any equally good reason why no account should be taken of the opinions of women? Let us consider the reasons commonly given, and see if they are sound.

Are Women Represented?

Women are represented already by their husbands, fathers and brothers.

This so-called representation bears no proportion to numbers. Here is a man who has a wife, widowed mother, four or five unmarried sisters, and half a dozen unmarried daughters. His vote represents himself and all these women, and it counts one; while the vote of his bachelor neighbor next door, without a female relative in the world, counts for just as much. Since the object of taking a vote is to get at the wish of the majority, it is clear that the only fair and accurate way is for each grown person to have one vote, and cast it to represent himself or herself.

American men are the best in the world, and if it were possible for any men to represent women, through kindness and 146 good will to them, American men would do it. But a man is by nature too different from a woman to be able to represent her. The two creatures are unlike. Whatever his

good will, he cannot fully put himself in a woman's place, and look at things exactly from her point of view. To say this is no more a reflection upon his mental or moral ability than it would be a reflection upon his musical ability to say that he cannot sing both soprano and bass. Unless men and women should ever become alike (which would be regrettable and monotonous), women must either go unrepresented or represent themselves.

Another proof that women's opinions are not now fully represented is the lack in many states of humane and protective legislation and the poor enforcement of such legislation where it exists; the inadequate appropriations for schools; the permission of child labor in factories; and in general the imperfect legal safe-guarding of the moral, educational and humanitarian interests that women have most at heart. In many of our states, the property laws are more or less unequal as between men and women. A hundred years ago, before the equal rights movement began, they were almost incredibly unequal. Yet our grandfathers loved their wives and daughters as much as men do to-day.

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Is "Influence" Enough?

If the laws are unjust, they can be corrected by women's indirect influence.

Yes, but the indirect method is needlessly long and hard. If women were forbidden to use the direct route by rail across the continent and complained of the injustice, it would be no answer to tell them that it is possible to get from New York to San Francisco by going around Cape Horn.

The slowness with which some of the worst inequalities in the laws are corrected shows the unsatisfactoriness of the indirect way. In most states, a married mother has literally no legal rights over her own children so long as she and her husband live together. Here is a case which actually happened, and which might happen to-day, in many of the states of the Union: A Chinaman had married a respectable Irish woman. When their first baby was three days old, the husband gave it to his brother to be taken to China and brought up there. The mother, through the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, appealed to the courts. but the judge promptly decided that the husband was within his rights. He was the sole legal owner of the baby; he had the sole legal right to say what should be done with it. For more 148 than half a century the suffragists of the United States have been trying to secure legislation making the father and mother joint guardians of their children by law, as they are by nature; but thus far the equal guardianship law has been obtained in only a minority of the states. Massachusetts got it in 1902, after 55 years of effort by

Massachusetts women. In Colorado and in California, after women were given the right to vote, the very next Legislature passed an equal guardianship law.

In Massachusetts, the State Federation of Women's Clubs, the Women's Relief Corps, the State W. C. T. U., the Children's Friend Society, and 65 other associations united in asking for the bill. The only society of women that has ever ranged itself definitely on the wrong side of this question is the "Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women." It circulated for years, under its official imprint, a leaflet in defense of the old law which gave the husband the sole control of the children.

In Massachusetts, in 1902, the laws of inheritance between husband and wife were made equal; but it had taken more than half a century of work to secure this self-evidently just measure. The experience in many other states has been similar. The roundabout way is almost always long and slow.

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The Ignorant Vote

It would double the ignorant vote.

Statistics published by the National Bureau of Education show that the high schools of every state in the Union are graduating more girls than boys—some of them twice and three times as many. Because of the growing tendency to take boys out of school early in order to put them into business, girls are getting more schooling than boys. Equal suffrage would increase the proportion of voters who have received more than a merely elementary education.

The Foreign Vote

It would double the foreign vote.

A little more than one-third of the immigrants coming to this country are women. According to the latest census, there are in the United States nearly three times as many native-born women as all the foreign-born men and foreign-born women put together.

The foreign vote is objectionable only so far as it is an ignorant vote. Intelligent foreigners, both men and women, are often very valuable citizens. On the other hand, the ignorant foreign immigrants

who come here are fully imbued, both men and women, with all the Old World ideas as to the inferiority and subjection of women. It is not until they have become pretty thoroughly Americanized that they can tolerate the idea of women's voting. The husbands are not willing that their wives should vote, and the wives ridicule the suggestion. Experience shows that until they have become Americanized, the foreign women will not vote. And after they have become Americanized, why should they not vote, as well as anyone else?

The Criminal Vote

To the vote of every criminal man, you would add the vote of a criminal woman.

The vicious and criminal class is comparatively small among women.

In the prisons of the United States as a whole, including those for all kinds of offenses, women constitute only five and one-half per cent. of the prisoners, and the proportion is growing smaller.

Equal suffrage would increase the moral and law-abiding vote very largely, while increasing the vicious and criminal vote very little. This is a matter not of conjecture but of statistics.

The Bad Women's Vote

The bad women would outvote the good ones.

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In America, the bad women are so few compared with the good ones, that their votes could have little influence. Mrs. Helen Gilbert Ecob, wife of a prominent clergyman who was for some years a pastor in Denver, writes:

"The bad women represent, in any city of the United States, but an infinitesimal proportion of its population, and the vote of the class in Denver is confined practically to three precincts out of 120."

The late Mrs. Sarah Platt Decker, of Denver, at one time President of the General Federation of Women's Clubs and also of the Colorado State Board of Charities and Correction, wrote:

"Does not the vote of the disreputable class of women overbalance the better element? No; the women of the half-world are not willing to vote. They are constantly changing their residences and

their names. They do not wish to give any data concerning themselves, their age, name or number of street; they prefer to remain unidentified."

Ex-Gov. Warren, of Wyoming, sums it all up when he says, in a letter to Horace G. Wadlin, of Massachusetts:

"Our women nearly all vote; and since, in Wyoming as elsewhere, the majority of women are good and not bad, the result is good and not evil."

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Don't Understand Business

A municipality is a great business corporation. Men, by the nature of their occupations, know more about business than women, and hence are better fitted to run a city or a state.

Women have a vote in every other corporation in which they are shareholders. George William Curtis said: "A woman may vote as a stockholder upon a railroad from one end of the country to the other; but, if she sells her stock and buys a house with the money, she has no voice in the laying out of the road before her door, which her house is taxed to keep and pay for."

Moreover, it is not true that a man's experience in his own business teaches him how to carry on the business of a city. Some years ago, a fashionable caterer was elected to the Massachusetts Legislature, and was appointed a member of the committee on filling up the South Boston flats. Another member said to him scornfully, "What do you know about filling up flats, anyway?" The caterer answered quietly, "That has been my business for twenty years." The answer was good, as a joke; but as a matter of fact, what had his experience of planning dinners taught him about the way to turn tide-mud into solid ground? What does the butcher learn from his business about the best way to pave a street, or the baker about the best way to build a sewer, or the candle-stick maker about the best way to lay out a park, or to choose school teachers or policemen, or to run a city hospital? Does a minister learn from his profession how to keep the streets clean, or a lawyer how to conduct a public school, or a doctor how to put out a fire? A man's business, at best, gives him special knowledge only in regard to one or two departments of city affairs. Women's business, as mothers and housekeepers, also gives them special knowledge in regard to some important department of public work, those relating to children, schools, playgrounds, the protection of the weak and young, morals, the care of the poor, etc. For what lies outside the scope of their own experience, men and women alike must rely upon experts. All they need, as voters, is sense enough and conscience enough to elect honest and capable persons to have charge of these things.

Division of Labor

The growth of civilization is marked by a increasing specialization and division of labor. Woman suffrage would therefore be a step backward.

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The growth of civilization increases the division of labor as between individuals, but lessens it as between the sexes. One woman no longer spins and weaves and manufactures the clothing for the men of her family, at the same time carrying on all the housework and in addition making butter, cheese and candles, as our great grandmothers did. This work is now subdivided among a number of specialists. On the other hand, in the old times women were excluded from almost all the occupations of men. Housework and sewing were practically the only ways open to them to earn a living. To-day, out of more than 300 trades and professions followed by men, women are found in all but three or four.

But this objection about the sub-division of labor is really irrelevant. Voting is not labor in the sense of a trade or a profession. The tendency of civilization has been to a greater and greater specialization of labor, but not to a closer and closer restriction of the suffrage. On the contrary, that has been steadily extended. The best results are found, not where public affairs are left in the hands of a small class of "professional politicians," but where the largest proportion of the people take a keen interest and an active part in their own government.

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Would Lose Their Influence

Women would lose their influence.

What gives a woman influence? Beauty, goodness, tact, talent, pleasant manners, money, social position, etc. A woman who has any of these means of influence now would still have them if she has a vote and she would have this other potent means of influence besides. There is a story of a prisoner who had been shut up for many years in a dungeon, getting sunlight only through a chink in the wall. He grew much attached to that chink. At last his friends came and offered to tear down the wall. His mind had become weakened and he begged them not to do it. If they destroyed the wall, he said, they would also destroy the chink through which he got his sunlight, and he would be left in total darkness. If he had had his wits he would have seen that he would have all the sunlight

he had before, and a great deal more besides. A woman after enfranchisement would have all the personal influence she has now, and political influence in addition. One thing is certain. Every vicious interest in this country, to which women are hostile, would rather continue to contend with women's "indirect influence" than try to cope with women's vote.

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Cease to Be Respected

Women would cease to be respected.

Jane Addams and other prominent Chicago women testify to the marked increase of respect that came to the women of Illinois with the granting of the ballot.

Dr. Margaret Long of Denver, daughter of the former Secretary of the Navy, writes: "It seems to me impossible that anyone can live in Colorado long enough to get into touch with the life here, and not realize that women count for more in all the affairs of this State than they do where they have not the power the suffrage gives. More attention is paid to their wishes, and much greater weight given to their opinions and judgment."

The late Mrs. Sarah Platt Decker, of Denver, wrote: "Under equal suffrage there is a much more chivalrous devotion and respect on the part of men, who look upon their sisters not as playthings or as property, but as equals and fellow citizens."

Mrs. K. A. Shepard, president of the New Zealand Council of Women, says: "Since women have become electors, their views have become important and command respect. Men listen to and are influenced by the opinions of women to a far greater degree than formerly. A young New Zealander in his teens no longer regards his mothers as belonging to a sex that must be kept within a prescribed sphere, but as a human being, clothed with the dignity of all those rights and powers which he hopes to enjoy within a few years. That the lads and young men of a democracy should have their whole conception of the rights of humanity broadened and measured by truer standards is in itself an incalculable benefit."

Mrs. A. Watson Lister, secretary of the Woman's National Council of Australia, says: "One striking result of equal suffrage is that members of Parliament now consult us as to their bills, when these bear upon the interests of women. The author of the new divorce bill asked all the women's organizations to come together and hear him read it, and to make criticisms and suggestions. I do not remember any such thing happening before in all my years in Australia. When a naturalization

bill was pending, one clause of which deprived Australian women of citizenship if they married aliens, a few women went privately to the Prime Minister and protested, and that clause was altered immediately. After we had worked for years with members of Parliament for various reforms, without avail, because we had no votes, you cannot imagine the difference it makes." *

* *Woman's Journal*, Feb. 13, 1904.

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Would Make Women Partisans

Women can do more good now than if they had a vote, because now they are non-partisan. If they become voters, their non-partisan influence would be lost.

Women continue to be non-partisan after they have the ballot, and it gives them more power to secure the good things which the women of all parties want.

Prof. Henry E. Kelly, formerly of the Iowa State University, now practicing law in Denver, says in an open letter to State Senator A. H. Gale, of Iowa, that he went to Colorado opposed to equal suffrage, but has been converted by what he has seen of it. Prof. Kelly adds:

"Experience clearly shows that women's interest cannot be aroused in mere partisan strife. Their interests center around questions affecting education, public cleanliness, public morality, civic beauty, charities and correction, public health, public libraries—and such subjects as more intimately affect home life and conduce to the prosperity of the family. Men lose sight of these important considerations in the scramble of partisan warfare for office, but women will not see them obscured by anything."

Ellis Meredith, of Denver, writes:

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"There has never been a party measure espoused by women in the Colorado Legislature. The women of all parties want the same things, and have worked for them together, in perfect harmony. They wanted a pure-food law, and secured one from their Legislature, in line with the national legislation. They wanted civil service reform, and have obtained that, so far as the officers of the state institution are concerned. A few years ago an attempt was made in the Legislature to take the control of the State Bureau of Child and Animal Protection away from the Colorado Humane Society and to create a political board. Every federated woman's club in the state besieged its senators and representatives to vote against the bill, and the vice-chairman of the state central committees of

the two chief political parties (both of them women) went together to different members of the Legislature to enter their protest. More recently still the veto of the appropriation for this bureau was made the basis of a strong attack on the Governor by the club women of the state and he was defeated for re-election by over 35,000 votes. Men understand that in legislative matters when they oppose the women, they are opposing practically all the women, and the great independent vote of the state.*

* Woman's Journal, Aug. 21, 1907.

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Opposition of Women

Women in large numbers are organizing against suffrage. The majority are opposed to it and the majority ought to rule.

The organized opposition among women to suffrage is very small compared with the organized movement of women in its favor.

In Chicago, 104 organizations, with an aggregate membership of more than 10,000 women, petitioned for women suffrage, while only one small organization of women petitioned against it. In Maine, in Iowa, in short, in every state where petitions for suffrage and remonstrances against it have been sent to the Legislature, the petitioners have always outnumbered the remonstrants, and have generally outnumbered them 50 or 100 to one. On the only occasion when the government took an official referendum among women on the subject (in Massachusetts, in 1895), the women's vote stood: Yes, 22,204; No, 861. Less than one-sixth of one percent of the women in the State voted against it.

Julia Ward Howe said: 'Most women are as yet indifferent on the suffrage question; but, of those who take any lively interest in it either way, the great majority are in favor. This has been demonstrated wherever the matter has been brought to a test'.

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Every constitutional amendment that has ever been carried in New York or Massachusetts would have been set down as defeated if all the men too indifferent to vote upon it either way had been counted as opposed. In New York, a successful amendment seldom gets more than 25 per cent of the popular vote. The remaining 75 per cent are 'either indifferent or opposed,' but, if less than 25 per cent are actually opposed, the amendment is carried.

In Massachusetts the Anti-Suffrage Association has been collecting signatures of women against suffrage ever since 1895, and in 21 years it has succeeded in accumulating the names of only a little over 3 per cent of the women of the State. In the country at large, despite urgent and widely published appeals from the Antis, only about one per cent who protest claim to carry more weight than the 99 per cent who either want the ballot or do not object to it?

Already Over-Burdened

Women are already overburdened. A woman would not have time to perform her political duties without neglecting higher duties.

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Mrs. Alice Freeman Palmer wrote:

"How much time must she spend on her political duties? If she belongs to the well-to-do-class, and hires others to do her work, she has time for whatever interests her most—only let these interest be noble! If she does her own housework, she can take ten minutes to stop on her way to market and vote once or twice a year. She can find half an hour a day for the newspapers and other means of information. She can talk with family and friends about what she reads. She does this now; she will then do it more intelligently and will give and receive more from what she says and hears. If she does this reading and talking, she will be better informed than the majority of voters are now. The duties of motherhood and the making of a home are the most sacred work of women and the dearest to them, of every class. If casting an intelligent vote would interfere with what only women can do—and what, failed in, undermines society and government—no one can question which a woman must choose. But it cannot be shown that there are any large number of women in this country who have not the necessary time to vote intelligently, and it can be argued that study of the vital questions of our government would make them better comrades to their husbands and friends, better guides to their sons, and more interesting and valuable members of society. Women of every class have more leisure than men, are less tied to hours of routine; they have had more years of school training than men. All this makes simple the combination of public and higher duties." *

* Objections to Woman Suffrage Answered by College Women.

Women and Office Holding

If women vote, they must hold office.

When we say that women would be eligible to hold office, what do we mean? Simply that if a majority of the people in any place would rather have a woman to hold a certain position than any one else, and if she is willing to serve, they shall be allowed to elect her. Women are serving as officials already; some of the women most prominent in opposing equal suffrage have been holders of public office. The late president of the "Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women" (Mrs. J. Elliott Cabot) was for years a member of the school board of Brookline, and also Overseer of the Poor. Yet that association, in its published documents, objects to equal suffrage on the ground that "suffrage involves the holding of office, and office-holding is incompatible with the duties of most women." Suffrage 164 does not involve office-holding by the majority of women, but only by a few; and there are always some women of character and ability who could give the necessary time. Women, as a class, have more leisure than men.

In the enfranchised states there has been no rush of women into office, and the offices that women do hold are mainly educational and charitable.

Ballots and Bullets

If women vote, they ought to fight and do police duty.

If no men were allowed to vote except those who were able and willing to do military and police duty, women might consistently be debarred for that reason. But so long as the old, the infirm, the halt, the lame and the blind are freely admitted to the ballot box, some better reason must be found for excluding women than the fact that they do not fight. All men over forty-five are exempt from military service, yet they vote. Col. T. W. Higginson says: "It appears by the record of United States Military Statistics that out of the men examined for military duty during the Civil War, of journalists 740 in every 1,000 were found 165 unfit; of preachers, 974; of physicians, 680; of lawyers, 544."^{*}

^{*} Medical statistics of the Provost General's Bureau quoted by Col. T. W. Higginson in "Common Sense About Women," page 365.

"Grave divines are horrified at the thought of admitting women to vote when they cannot fight, although not one in twenty of their own number is fit for military duty, if he volunteered. Of the editors who denounce woman suffrage, only about one in four could himself carry a musket; while, of the lawyers who fill Congress, the majority could not be defenders of their country, but could only be defended."

Lucy Stone said, "Some woman risks her life whenever a soldier is born into the world. Later she does picket duty over his cradle, and for years she is his quarter-master, and gathers his rations. And when that boy grows to a man, shall he say to his mother, 'If you want to vote, you must first go and kill somebody?' It is a coward's argument!"

Mrs. Z. G. Wallace, of Indiana, from whom Gen. Lew Wallace drew the portrait of the mother in "Ben-Hur," said: "If women do not fight, they give to the State all its soldiers." This ought in all fairness be taken as an offset for the military service that women do not render. As Lady Henry Somerset says, "She who bears soldiers does not need to bear arms."

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Can Laws Be Enforced?

Laws could not be enforced unless the majority of legal voters represented the majority of possible fighters.

But thousands of male non-combatants are already admitted to the ballot box, and there is no certainly at any election that the majority of voters represents a majority of possible fighters. No trouble of this kind has resulted from equal suffrage in practice. The laws are as well enforced in the enfranchised states as in adjoining states where women have no vote.

Where women have school suffrage their votes occasionally turn the scale, but there is never any attempt to install the defeated candidates by force. Where women have the full ballot they have often defeated bad candidates for higher offices, but no riotous uprising has ever followed. This particular objection is a libel on our American manhood.

Will It Increase Divorce?

It will lead to family quarrels and increase divorce.

Full suffrage was granted to the women of Wyoming in 1896. During the twenty years from 1870 to 1890, divorce in the United States at large increased about three 167 times as fast as the population. In the group of western states, omitting Wyoming, it increased nearly four times as fast as the population. In Wyoming it increased only about half as fast as the population. "An ounce of experiment is worth a ton of theory."

Rev. Francis Miner Moody, Secretary of the California Commission working to secure a uniform divorce law throughout the United States, published in the *Woman Voter* of February, 1913, in article showing by actual statistics that every state which has had equal suffrage for a considerable number of years has declined markedly in its divorce rate as compared with the rest of the country. He points out that in Colorado the drop was so great as to be “astonishing.”

Just before Colorado granted equal suffrage, in 1891 and 1892, its average number of divorces per year was 937. For the three years immediately following the bestowal of equal suffrage—1894, 1895 and 1896—the average number of divorces per year was only 517.

A father sometimes turns his son out of doors for voting the wrong ticket, but among American men this is rare. Where such a case does arise, it is to be met by educating the domestic despot, not by disfranchising all the members of the family 168 but one. A couple who are sensible and good-tempered will not quarrel if they are once in a while unable to think alike about politics. A couple who are not sensible and good-tempered are sure to quarrel anyway—if not about politics, then about something else.

The Question of Chivalry

It will destroy chivalry.

Justice would be worth more to women than chivalry, if they could not have both. A working girl put the case in a nutshell when she said: “I would gladly stand for twenty minutes in the street car going home if by doing so I could get the same pay that a man would have had for doing my day's work.” But women do not have to stand in the street cars half as often in Denver as in Boston or in New York. Justice and chivalry are not in the least incompatible. Women have more freedom and equality in America than in Europe, yet American men are the most chivalrous in the world.

Known By Its Enemies

It would increase the corruption of politics.

Those who thrive upon the corruption of politics do not think so. The ignorant, vicious and criminal vote is always cast solidly against equal rights for women.

Too Emotional

Women are too emotional and sentimental to be trusted with the ballot.

Mrs. E. T. Brown, at a meeting of the Georgia State Federation of Women's Clubs read a paper, in which she said:

"You tell us that women are not fitted for dealing with the problems of government, being too visionary and too much controlled by sentiment.

"Now it is very true of women that they are largely controlled by sentiment, and, as a matter of fact, men are largely controlled by sentiment also, in spite of their protesting blushes. Was it logic that swept like a wave over this country and sent our army to protect the Cubans when their suffering grew too intense to be endured even in the hearing? Is it shrewd business calculation that sends thousands of dollars out of this country to feed a starving people during the ever-recurring famines in unhappy India? Was it hard common sense that sent thousands of American soldiers into what looked like the death-trap of China in the almost baseless hope of rescuing a few hundred American citizens? Do not men like Washington, Lincoln, Jefferson and Lee live in the hearts of American men, not alone for what they did, but still more for what they dreamed of? The man who is not controlled by sentiment betrays his friends, sells his vote, is a traitor to his country, or wrecks himself, body and soul, with immoralities; for nothing but sentiment prevents any of these things. The sense of honor is pure sentiment. The sentiment of loyalty is the only thing that makes truth and honesty desirable, or a vote a non-salable commodity.

"Government would be a poor affair without sentiment, and is not likely to be damaged by a slightly increased supply."

What Is the Unit?

The political unit is the family.

The childless widower, the unmarried boy of 21, and the confirmed old bachelor of 90 have votes; the widow with minor children has none. Under our laws the political unit is not the family, but the male individual. The unequal number of grown persons in different families would make it impossible to treat the family as the political unit.

Women's Small School Vote

The smallness of women's school vote shows that they would not use the full ballot.

The size of men's vote is just in proportion to the size of the election. At presidential elections it is very large, at state 171 elections much smaller, at a municipal election smaller still, and at school elections, wherever these are held separately, only a fraction of the men turn out to vote. The smallness of the woman's school vote is regrettable, but it is only a new proof of the truth of Mrs. Poyser's immortal saying: "I am not denying that women are foolish; God Almighty made them to match the men!"

In Kansas women were given school suffrage in 1861. Their vote was small. In 1887 they were given municipal suffrage. Their vote at once became much larger, and has increased at successive elections. In 1912 they were given the full ballot, and their vote increased much more.

In Colorado women were given school suffrage in 1876. Their vote was small. In 1893 they were given the full ballot, and on January 31, 1899, the Colorado Legislature declared, by a practically unanimous vote of both Houses, that "during this time (the preceding five years) women have exercised the privilege as generally as men."

In the states of Oregon and Washington women had the school ballot for many years, and their vote was small. Now that they have gained full suffrage it has become large.

The women's school vote has completely disproved the fear that the bad women 172 would be the first to rush to the polls. In answer to the prediction that the best women will not vote, Col.

Higginson says: * "In Massachusetts, under school suffrage, the complaint has been that *only* the best women vote."

* "The Nonsense of It," by T. W. Higginson.

Will Women Vote? Proof from Equal Suffrage States

Women will not vote, or will cease to vote after the novelty has worn off.

Women to-day have the right to vote in many different parts of the civilized world. They not only have it, but use it.

In the presidential election of 1912 there were 24,773,583 men over 21 years of age in the non-suffrage states of the Union. Of these, 13,521,899 voted, or 54.5 per cent. In the six suffrage states. Wyoming, Colorado, Idaho, Utah, Washington and California—the only states where women could vote for President in 1912—there were 3,253,443 men and women over 21 years of age. Of these 1,514,643 voted, or 46.6 per cent. Between the proportion of men voting in the male suffrage states and the proportion of all adults voting in the equal suffrage states there was a difference of less than 8 per cent. Either the women voted almost as generally as the men, or the men 173 in the suffrage states voted much more generally than the men in the non-suffrage states. There is no escape from this conclusion. The figures are taken from wholly impartial sources—the United States census and the New York World Almanac.

Striking proof that women do vote is also to be found in the figures of the State elections.

Kansas, Oregon and Arizona gave women the ballot in November, 1912, and the women had their first chance to vote at a general in November, 1914. In Arizona the total vote cast rose from 23,722 in 1912 to 51,007 in 1914; in Oregon, from 137,040 to 210,566; and in Kansas, from 365,444 to 530,206. The increase is the more remarkable inasmuch as 1912 was a presidential year.

California elects her Governor once in four years. In 1911 she enfranchised her women. The total vote cast at the gubernatorial election in 1906 was 312,030; in 1910, 385,715, and in 1914, 926,689. These figures speak for themselves.

A committee of Southern California women had the statistics of the men's and women's vote compiled in the offices of the city and county clerks from the official records in many cities and towns. As the vote of men and women is not tabulated separately it was necessary to make a count of 174 the entire vote from the roster. In case of any doubt about signatures, the benefit was given to the men. Thus if a voter was entered as J. Smith, it was assumed that J. stood for John and not for Jane. The result of the investigation is published in the *Woman's Bulletin* of Monrovia, California, for December, 1913. Men outnumber women in California, and the publishers of the report state that where the women voters equal 80 per cent. of the men it indicates about the same degree of interest.

In Los Angeles, the vote stood, men, 52,731; women 37,100; in San Diego, men, 9,961; women 6,017; in Santa Ana, men, 2,144; women, 1,394; Redondo Beach, men, 590; women, 376; Berkeley, men, 4,874; women, 3,072; San Buena Ventura, men, 801; women, 587; Sierra Madre, men, 219; women, 175; Pasadena, men, 5,872; women, 5,202; South Pasadena, men, 994; women, 922; Santa

Monica, men, 1,511; women, 1,134; Santa Gabriel, men, 238; women, 151; Santa Barbara, men, 2,404; women, 1,999. It is clear that women cast a substantial vote.

The committee of women who sent out this report include the President of the College Equal Suffrage League, the President of the California Woman's Democratic League, a special agent of the State Bureau of Labor, a member of the State Immigration 175 Committee, and others whose official position gives weight to their words.

The Chief Justice of Idaho and all the Justices of the State Supreme Court have signed a published statement that "the large vote cast by the women establishes the fact that they take a lively interest."

In New Zealand the number of women voting has increased at each triennial Parliamentary election since they got the vote. In 1893, 90,290 women voted; in 1896, 108,783; in 1899, 119,550; in 1902, 138,565; in 1905, 175,046; in 1908, 190,114; in 1911, 219,114, and in 1914, 234,726. (New Zealand Year Book.)

In Australia, too, the women's vote has grown at each federal election. In 1903 43.50 per cent. of the possible women voters cast their ballots; in 1906, 44.81 per cent.; in 1910, 56.93 per cent., and in 1913, 71.54 per cent. (Votes for Women, January 23, 1914.)

The majority of the women had never asked for suffrage in any of these places.

A Growing Cause

Opposition to woman suffrage is growing.

In Kansas, the first time the equal suffrage amendment was submitted it got only 9,100 votes; the second time it got 95,302; the third time it got 175,376, and carried.

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In the State of Washington, the first time, the majority against it was 19,386; the second time it was only 9,882, and it was finally carried in 1910 by a majority of 22,623.

In South Dakota it was defeated in 1910 by 22,520, in 1914 by only 11,914, and in 1916 by 4,664.

In Nebraska the first time it was snowed under by almost three to one. In 1914 it came so near passing that a change of 4,128 votes in a total of 189,818 would have carried it.

In California and Colorado it was defeated the first time and carried the second. In Oregon it was defeated five times and carried the sixth.

Massachusetts is the eight State to show an improvement. In the referendum of 1895 the men's vote was 86,970 to 186,976—considerably more than two one against suffrage. In 1915 it was 162,615 to 295,702—considerably less than two to one against. Moreover, in 1895 the proposition was for municipal woman suffrage only, while in 1915 it covered the right to vote for all State and national officers.

Ohio and Michigan

Ohio and Michigan gave a larger vote against equal suffrage the second time than the first.

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The only exceptions to this generally improving vote have been Ohio and Michigan. In both of these cases the difference was amply accounted for by local circumstances.

In Ohio the suffrage amendment was submitted in 1912 at a special election. The vote stood 249,420 to 336,875. In 1914 it was submitted at a general election. The vote stood 335,390 to 518,295. The first time suffrage got 42½ per cent. of the total vote cast upon the question. The second time, it got 39½ per cent. The vote that comes out when there are only constitutional amendments to be voted upon is somewhat more thoughtful than the vote that comes out to elect candidates to office. This is quite enough to account for the three per cent. of difference in the suffrage vote.

When the amendment was submitted in Michigan in 1912 the liquor interests thought it had no chance of passing, and made no organized fight against it until just before election, when they became alarmed and started in; but then it was too late. In 1913 the liquor interests were thoroughly frightened, and they put up the fight of their lives and spent money like water.

The following opinions are gathered from Michigan newspapers:

The Kalamazoo Gazette: "Last fall liquor dealers vigorously denied any connection 178 with the fight against the women. This spring they almost openly boasted of it. There is no doubt that thousands of dollars were sent into the State by outside liquor organizations."

The Bay City Tribune: "The liquor interests of the State were solidly arrayed against them (the women). Unquestionably their influence, more than anything else, caused the defeat of the amendment. In every county in the State they were out strongly against it."

The Detroit Journal: "The fight was made throughout the State by liquor interests. They made an intense and thorough campaign.

The Detroit Times: "The saloons didn't want it, because in suffrage for women government by the saloons would be threatened." It adds that there was "plenty of money from the sale of beer and whiskey to finance opposition.

The Lansing Journal: "With unlimited means at their command, the liquor interests flooded Michigan with misleading literature."

The Port Huron Times-Herald: "There is no denying that the liquor interests took a prominent part in the defeat of suffrage. ... They worked openly against it and contributed largely to its defeat."

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The States Journal: "For the liquor interests it (the defeat of suffrage) was an expensive victory. In time they will pay back ten times over what they have won. Their open and unabashed stand has driven home the fact that they have their hand on the affairs of the State; and that is a dangerous thing for any interest or coalition of interests which lives from year to year by the indulgence of the public to prove."

Even if the anti-suffragists decline to accept the verdict of the Michigan papers as to the cause of the increased majority against suffrage, the fact remains that there are now ten States where woman suffrage has been submitted to the voters more than once, and in eight of the ten the latest vote was more favorable than the one before it.

The Test of Experiment

It works badly in practice.

Women now have the full ballot in Wyoming, Colorado, Idaho, Utah, Washington, California, Kansas, Oregon, Arizona, Nevada, Montana, Alaska, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia, Ontario, while in Illinois, North Dakota, Indiana, Ohio, Rhode Island, Michigan and Nebraska, they can vote for Presidential electors. In Arkansas they can nominate all candidates at the primaries. 180

Abroad, they have full Parliamentary suffrage in New Zealand, Australia, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Denmark; while in the Isle of Man and in Bosnia, women property owners can vote for members of the local Parliament. They have municipal suffrage in England; Scotland, Ireland, Wales, all the provinces of Canada, Sweden and South Africa, and even in Burma and some parts of India.

In all these places put together, the opponents thus far have not found a score of respectable men who assert over their own names that it has had any bad results.

This is the more remarkable in view of the fact that active anti-suffrage associations in New York and Massachusetts have been for years diligently gathering all the adverse testimony they could find.

Miss Annie Bock of California Worked for Suffrage, but Now Says She would Be Glad to See It Repealed.

Miss Bock is the only suffragist in California who has announced this change of mind, and she has adopted reactionary views all along the line. In her address at the Congressional hearing in December, 1913, she denounced not only woman suffrage, but the peace movement, workmen's compensation, teachers' pensions and the use of school 181 houses for civic centres, declaring that all these things merely played into the hands of Socialism; and she asserted that settlement work and welfare work were "either a fad or graft." Miss Bock, therefore, is not a person whose judgement should carry much weight.

A vast number of people in California who were formerly opposed to suffrage now favor it. The suffrage amendment in 1911 carried only by a small majority. An initiative petition was started to repeal it at the election of November, 1912. There were more than 1,500,000 men and women of voting age in California, yet it was found impossible to secure the 32,000 signatures needed to resubmit the question.

Mrs. Anna Kelley, of Colorado, in a Recent Interview Says That Woman Suffrage Has Worked Badly.

In the *Denver Post* of November 23, 1913, Mrs. Kelley disclaimed the alleged interview, and said her remarks had been "greatly misrepresented."

On the other hand, scores of the most highly esteemed men and women in the equal suffrage States testify that the results are good.

In Wyoming women have had the full ballot for nearly half a century. For the 182 last 25 years, the advocates of equal suffrage have had a standing challenge, inviting its opponents to find, in all Wyoming, two respectable men who will assert over their own names and addresses that it has had any bad results whatever. The opponents have thus far failed to respond.

The New York Survey is one of the country's leading philanthropic journals, a sort of unofficial organ of the National Conference of Charities. The editor sent a circular letter to all his subscribers in the enfranchised States, asking about the effect of equal suffrage, and published the result in The Survey of October 23, 1915. He got 633 answers, of which only 15 were unfavorable. He said:

"Seldom has the Survey had, on any subject, so many hearty, whole-souled, eager responses to an inquiry. Not one subscriber reports any evidence of the break-down of home life as the result of women's voting—a point of particular interest to the many Survey subscribers whose main task is the conservation of the family.

The answers came from bishops and college presidents, lawyers and ministers, officers of Mercantile Clubs and of the Y. M. C. A., social workers, librarians, commissioners of public works, members of Child Labor Commissions and Superintendents of Schools.

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Doubling the Vote

It would only doubled the vote without changing the result.

If letting women sing in church merely doubled the volume of sound, it would still be a good thing, because it would double the number of persons who had the lung exercise and the inspiration of joining in a good hymn and it would make the chorus stronger. If equal suffrage merely doubled the number of votes it would still do good, because to take an interest in public affairs would give women mental stimulus and greater breadth of view; and it would also bring to bear on public problems the minds of an increased number of intelligent and patriotic citizens. But the greater advantage of women in music is that they add the soprano and alto to the tenor and bass. If women were exactly like men, equal suffrage would merely double the vote. But women are different from men; and women's voices in the State, like women's voices in the choir, would be the introduction of a new element. This is recognized even by opponents, when they express the fear that equal suffrage would lead to "sentimental legislation."

Men are superior to women along certain lines, and women superior to men along certain others. The points of weakness in 184 American politics are present are precisely the points where women are strong. There is no lack in our politics of business ability, executive talent, or "smartness" of any kind. There is a dangerous lack of conscience and humanity. The business interest, which appeal more especially to men, are well and shrewdly looked after; and moral and humanitarian interests, which appeal more especially to women, are apt to be neglected.

Not a Natural Right

Suffrage is not a natural right.

It is hard to define just what a "natural right" is. Dr. James Freeman Clarke said: "If all women were forbidden to use the sidewalk, and they complained of the injustice, it would be no answer to tell them that it was not a natural or inherent right, but one given by society, and which society might therefore control as it saw fit. A great many rights are given by society, of which, however, it would be manifestly unjust to deprive either sex.

Too Many Voters

We have too many voters already.

This only means that we have too many voters of the wrong kind. If to increase the number of voters were an evil in itself, every woman who becomes the mother of 185 half a dozen sons would have done harm to her country. But if all six grow up to be good voters she has conferred a benefit on her country. So she has, if five of them become good voters, and only one a bad voter. Woman suffrage would bring in at least five good voters to one bad one.

It is often said that we have too many immigrants. We mean too many immigrants of an undesirable kind. We all rejoice when we hear of a large influx from Finland or some other country whose people are considered especially desirable immigrants. We want them to offset those of less virtuous and law-abiding races. The governor of one of the enfranchised States writes of woman suffrage: "The effect of this increase in the vote is the same as if a large and eminently respectable class of citizens had immigrated here."

Would Unsex Women

It will turn women into men.

The differences between men and women are natural; they are not the result of disfranchisement. The fact that all men have equal rights before the law does not wipe out natural differences of character and temperament between man and man. Why should it wipe out the natural differences between men and women? The women of England, Scotland, Canada, Yucatan, Ireland, Australia, New Zealand, the Scandinavian countries and our own equal suffrage States are not perceptibly different in looks or manners from women elsewhere, although they have been voting for years.

All Socialists Are Suffragists, and Suffrage Means Socialism

If it is meant that equal suffrage will hasten the coming of Socialism, the Socialists themselves do not think so, and the results in the enfranchised States do not bear out the belief.

Between the presidential elections of 1908 and 1912, the Socialist vote increased in every State of the Union. In Wyoming, Colorado, Utah and Idaho—the only States that have had equal suffrage long enough to compare presidential election with presidential election—the rate of increase was below the average. In the country at large, the growth of the Socialist vote was 112 per cent. In Wyoming it was 61 per cent., in Utah 84, in Idaho 87 and in Colorado 106 per cent. In many non-suffrage States the growth was much more rapid. Thus in Delaware it was 132 per cent., in Pennsylvania 147, in Ohio 166; in Indiana 174, in Kentucky 178, in North Dakota 187 188, in Nebraska 190, in North Carolina 197, in Tennessee 216, in Virginia 222 and in West Virginia 317 per cent.

Owing to war conditions the Socialist vote of 1916 was 40 per cent. smaller than that of 1912. The equal suffrage States decreased in proportion, some even out-stripping the country as a whole. In California, Washington and Utah, for instance, the vote of 1912 was almost cut in half in 1916. All Socialists have a woman suffrage plank in their theoretical platform, but many say that they do not want woman suffrage to come until Socialism arrives, for fear that the greater conservatism of women will delay the advent of Socialism.

Sending Federal Troops

Federal Troops had to be sent into Colorado to keep order during the strike.

Federal troops have been sent to put down labor troubles in four States where women could not vote, and in only one State where they could. Federal troops were sent not long ago into Arkansas; and they were sent into Illinois, Montana and Nevada before the women of those three State obtained the ballot.

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Suffrage and Feminism

Suffrage is a branch of Feminism and Feminism includes free love.

Feminism merely means the general movement for woman's rights. The word is used in this sense in England and Europe, and is coming into use in America. There is no more authority for saying that Feminism means free love than that the woman's rights movement means free love—an accusation often made against it without warrant. Mrs. Beatrice Forbes Robertson Hale (a strong opponent of free love) says in her book, "What Women Want":

"Feminism is that part of the progress of democratic freedom which applies to women. It is a century-old struggle conducted by large groups of people in different parts of the world to bring about the removal of all artificial barriers to the physical, mental, moral and economic development of the female half of the race."

In this sense the woman suffrage movement, of course, is a part of it.

Suffrage and Marriage

Suffragists and Feminists are the enemies of marriage and the home.

The National American Woman Suffrage Association at its annual convention in 189 Washington in December, 1915, passed the following resolution by a unanimous vote:

"That we believe the home is the foundation of the State; we believe in the sanctity of the marriage relation; and, furthermore, we believe that woman's ballot will strengthen the power of the home, and sustain the dignity and sacredness of marriage; and we denounce as a gross slander the

charges made by opponents of equal suffrage that its advocates as a class entertain opinions to the contrary."

Suffrage and Wages

Woman suffrage means that all women, married and single, should go out of their homes and work for wages.

The United States Census shows that in the suffrage States the proportion of women working outside their homes for wages is smaller than in the country at large.

Suffrage and Jury Duty

If women vote they must do jury duty, and they might have to listen to indecent testimony. Suppose a mixed jury were locked up over night!

Women have served on juries in Norway and in some of our own Western States for many years. No woman thus far has complained of having been subjected to hardship or impropriety. When a mixed jury has to be out over night, the men and women are locked up separately, as a matter of course. The consensus of testimony from the Chief Justices and others is that the women make intelligent and conscientious jurors.

When the testimony is of an objectionable character, some women have to hear it at any rate—the woman who is plaintiff or defendant, women who are witnesses, women who are lawyers. It would be no great matter if a few more women heard the same things from the jury box.

Old lawyers, with no leaning toward woman suffrage, have said that there really ought to be some women on the jury, in cases of this kind, for the protection of men unjustly accused. A pretty adventuress can sometimes pull the wool over the eyes of a jury of men, when a jury of her own sex would see through her at once.

Would Double the Cost of Elections

Woman suffrage would double the cost of elections and raise the taxes.

The cost of elections is a very small fraction of the cost of government. In the budget of New York City for 1913 and 1914, election expenses are one of the 191 smallest items, amounting to about seven-tenths of one per cent. of the total expenditure, or 24 cents per person. In one election New York paid 27 cents per capita and Chicago 32 cents, but for the five cents which Chicago paid more than New York, Chicago voted men and women—the largest number of voters ever voted in any city in America. The cost per voter in New York is \$1.60, in Chicago only 57 cents. The cost in Denver is 14 cents, in Cheyenne, Wyoming, 10 cents.

None of the suffrage states are complaining that their taxes have been raised through women's votes. Governor Alexander of Idaho calls attention to the fact that in all the suffrage States the per capita wealth of the people is above the average for the country at large. This shows that they have not been crushed and impoverished with taxation. Kansas of January 1, 1916, paid off the last dollar of its State debt.

Women Do Not Want It

Whenever the majority of women ask for suffrage, they will get it.

Every improvement in the condition of women thus far has been secured not by a general demand from the majority of women, but by the arguments, entreaties 192 and “continual coming” of a persistent few. In each case the advocates of progress have had to contend not merely with the conservatism of men, but with the indifference of women, and often with active opposition from some of them.

When a man in Saco, Me., first employed a saleswoman, the men boycotted his store, and the women remonstrated with him on the sin of placing a young woman in a position of such “publicity.” When Lucy Stone began to try to secure for married women the right to their own property, women asked with scorn, “Do you think I would give myself where I would not give my property?” When Elizabeth Blackwell began to study medicine, women at her boarding house refused to speak to her, and women passing her on the street held their skirts aside. It is a matter of history with what ridicule and opposition Mary Lyon's first efforts for the higher education of women were received, not only by the mass of men, but by the mass of women as well.

In eastern countries, where women are shut up in zenanas and forbidden to walk the streets unveiled, the women themselves are often the strongest upholders of these tradition restrictions, which they have been taught to think add to their dignity. The Chinese lady is as proud of her small

feet as any American anti-suffragist is of her 193 political disabilities. Pundita Ramabai tells us that the idea of education for girls is so unpopular with the majority of Hindoo women that when a progressive Hindoo proposes to educate his little daughter, it is not uncommon for the women of his family to threaten to drown themselves.

All this merely shows that human nature is conservative, and that it is fully as conservative in women as in men. The persons who take a strong interest in any reform are generally few, whether among men or women, and they are habitually regarded with disfavor, even by those whom the proposed reform is to benefit.

Many changes for the better have been made during the last half century in the laws, written and unwritten, relating to women. Everybody approves of these changes now, because they have become accomplished facts. But not one of them would have been made to this day if it had been necessary to wait till the majority of women asked for it. The change now under discussion is to be judged on its merits. In the light of history the indifference of most women and the opposition of a few must be taken as a matter of course. It has no more rational significance now than it has had in regard to each previous step of women's progress.

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The Sentiment for Woman Suffrage

The sentiment for woman suffrage is stronger, more general and more widespread than for any other public question before the people to-day. Consider these facts:

1—up to the year 1910 only four of the United States had adopted equal suffrage—all lying in the comparatively thinly-populated Rocky Mountain region. From the year 1896 to 1910, not a single State was won for suffrage. In 1910, however, the great, thickly-populated State of Washington enfranchised its women by a majority of two to one. In 1911, California followed, and in 1912, Kansas, Oregon and Arizona. In 1913, the Territorial Legislature of Alaska voted unanimously to adopt the measure, and the Legislature of Illinois bestowed upon the women of the State the vote for Presidential electors, and for certain local officers. In 1917 Ohio, Indiana, North Dakota, Rhode Island, Michigan and Nebraska gave women presidential suffrage and Arkansas gave them primary suffrage.

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In 1914, Montana, next neighbor to Idaho and Wyoming, and Nevada, entirely surrounded by suffrage States, enfranchised their women.

In 1916 and 1917 five Provinces of Canada gave the suffrage to women—Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, Ontario, by law; British Columbia by popular vote by a majority of more than two to one.

2—A bill asking for the submission to the Legislatures of the various States of a woman suffrage amendment to the United States Constitution is now before Congress. In 1914 it obtained a majority in a vote of the Senate, but failed of the two-thirds majority necessary for an amendment. In 1915 it was voted on in the House of Representatives.

3—At the national conventions of the political parties in 1916, at which presidential candidates were chosen and platforms adopted, every one of the five great parties adopted suffrage planks. Such planks had previously been adopted by the Prohibition, the Socialist and the Progressive parties, but they appeared for the first time in the platforms of the Republican and Democratic parties. They are as follows:

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The Democratic Party:

We recommended the extension of the franchise to the women of this country, State by State, on the same terms as to the men.

The Republican Party:

The Republican party, reaffirming its faith in government of the people, by the people, for the people, as a measure of justice to one-half the adult people of this country, favor the extension of the suffrage to women, but recognizes the right of each State to settle this question for itself.

The Progressive Party:

And we believe that the women of the country, who share with the men the burdens of government in times of peace and make equal sacrifice in times of war, should be given the full political rights of suffrage, both by State and Federal action.

The Socialist Party:

We advocate and pledge ourselves and our elected officers to—

Unrestricted and equal suffrage for men and women.

The immediate adoption of the so-called "Susan B. Anthony amendment" to the Constitution of the United States granting 197 the suffrage to women on equal terms with men.

The Prohibition Party:

The right of citizens of the United States to vote should not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex. We declare in favor of the enfranchisement of women by amendment to State and Federal Constitution. We condemn the Republican and Democratic parties for their failure to submit an equal suffrage amendment to the national constitution. We remind the four million women voters that our party was the first to declare for their political rights, which it did in 1872.

4—On August 1, 1916, Mr. Charles E. Hughes, who was then about to begin his campaign as the presidential candidate of the Republican party, replied to a telegram from Senator Sutherland in these words:

Your telegram has been received. In my answer to the notification I did not refer to the proposed Federal amendment relating to woman suffrage, as this was not mentioned in the platform. I have no objection, however, to stating my personal views. As I said in my speech, I think it to be most desirable that the 198 question of woman suffrage should be settled promptly. The question is of such a nature that it should be settled for the entire country. My view is that the proposed amendment should be submitted and ratified and the subject removed from political discussion."

On September 8 President Wilson addressed the Annual Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association at Atlantic City. Following are a few extracts from his speech:

"I have felt the wholesome contagion of this occasion.

"Woman suffrage is going to prevail. We shall not quarrel in the long run as to the method of its coming. I have not come to ask you to be patient, for you have been patient. There is a power behind you which will take you surely to victory for which you can afford a little time to wait." Later he showed his interest by telegraphing the Legislature of Tennessee urging the passage of the presidential suffrage bill then before it.

5—Approximately 600 organizations—other than strictly suffrage bodies—local, national and international, aggregating approximately 50,000,000 members, have endorsed woman suffrage. Among these 199 are the International Council of Women, the World's W. C. T. U., the National Grange, the American Federation of Labor, the National Women's Trades Union League, the National

Educational Association, the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the National Purity Conference, the National Woman's Single Tax League, the Ladies' of the Maccabees, and a large number of the State Federations of Women's Clubs.

6—An International and a National Men's League and forty-four local men's leagues in this country are working for woman suffrage.

7—there are now in this country more than 1,000 suffrage organizations, the registered membership of which mounts up as high as 500,000. In the National American Woman Suffrage Association there are sixty-three affiliated societies organized in forty-five States with over 75,000 dues-paying members.

8—During the past two or three years the press of the country has given more space to the subject of woman suffrage than to any other one public question. Numbers of the leading newspapers and periodicals have departments devoted exclusively to its discussion.

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9—The Overwhelming Testimony from Equal Suffrage States is Favorable. (a) 1913. Evening Sun of New York sent questions to its correspondents in equal suffrage states. Their replies proved (1) Women do vote. (2) Their votes pass laws. (3) Their voting is satisfactory.

(b) 1914. All the Governors of the Equal Suffrage States (9) personally testified to the benefits of equal suffrage.

(c) 1915. The Colorado Senate and California Legislature passed strong resolutions that equal suffrage had proved successful.

(d) 1915. The "Survey" magazine made a canvass of its subscribers in the equal suffrage States. 634 answers. Only 15 unfavorable.

(e) 1916. Favorable statement signed by 66 prominent Colorado men as to prosperity and benefits under equal suffrage.

10—The Legislatures of Wyoming, Colorado, California and Kansas, and the Parliaments of New Zealand and of the Australian Federation have passed resolutions declaring that woman suffrage has been an unmixed advantage to home and state, and urging other legislative bodies everywhere to advance suffrage legislation.

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11—Public men in all the States in this country, and in the foreign countries that have adopted equal suffrage, are unanimous in declaring that the measure has worked to the advantage of the state, the home, the family, and of women themselves; and that none of the evils feared from it have come to pass; while the body of sentiment on the part of eminent people in all walks of life is overwhelming, both in this country, in Great Britain and on the Continent of Europe.

12—The devoted service that the women have rendered in all the countries now at war has had the effect of making converts to woman suffrage wholesale in England and Canada. Among the most noteworthy of these converts are Mr. Asquith, Lord Northcliffe and Sir Wilfrid Laurier. Before the war Mr. Asquith, who was British Premier from 1908 to 1916, was the most determined opponent of votes for women in the British Cabinet. The execution of Miss Cavell called forth from him an admission that there were thousands of women in England capable of the highest patriotism, "and," he added, "a year ago we did not know it." In the debate on the Franchise Reform Bill, which passed its second reading in May, 1917, Mr. Asquith strongly urged the grant of votes to women.

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Lord Northcliffe is the owner of the "London Times" and the "Daily Mail." These papers strongly opposed woman suffrage before the war. In the "Daily Mail" Lord Northcliffe suggested that when the new electoral reform bill is drawn up, at least three prominent women should be invited into the ministerial council; and suggested the names of Lady Frances Balfour, Lady Selbourne and Mrs. Pankhurst. "The old argument," continued this article in the "Mail," "against giving women the franchise was that they were useless in war. But we could not carry on the war without them. They are running many of our industries and their services may justly be compared with those of the soldier."

The conversion of Sir Wilfrid Laurier is the more remarkable, because he is now 75 years of age; he is from French Quebec, and all his life he has shown many of the conservative tendencies of the French Canadians. In addressing a convention of the Women's Clubs, held in London, Ontario, Sir Wilfrid said: "I do not think that woman suffrage will achieve all the good its exponents claim for it, and I am sure it will not result in all the bad its opponents expect from it; but as we witness the glorious part that noble woman is taking in service and sacrifice 203 for the highest and best in civilization, my personal contention is that there is no reason why she should be denied the right of the ballot if she wants it."

Theodore Roosevelt —It is the right of woman to have the ballot; it is the duty of man to give it; and we all need woman's help as we try to solve the many and terrible problems set before us. In the

solution of these problems, we should use the full and not the cramped strength of every man and woman in the entire commonwealth.

Hon. George W. P. Hunt, Governor of Arizona —Actual results are a criterion, equal suffrage, as adopted and applied in Arizona, is an unqualified success.

Hon. George A. Carlson, former Governor of Colorado —Those who for nearly a quarter of a century have observed the enfranchised woman at work know that she can sense the enemy of the home more quickly and will fight him with more telling effect than the husband, and, while preserving all her natural feminine charm and sweetness, she will become even more devoted to the man who has allowed her ampler means and fuller power for the protection of 204 their common fireside. The State, in safeguarding and preventing the health and morals of the young, is but doing a mother's work. We need the blending of the mother heart and the masculine judgment and will to sustain and guard our homes.

Hon. Ernest Lister, Governor of Washington —Woman suffrage is a distinct asset to the State of Washington. No one, except perhaps some one disgruntled on account of its having interfered with some pet scheme, has even suggested that Washington was not better for it.

Hon. Hiram W. Johnson, U.S. Senator from California —There is every reason to regard equal suffrage as having justified itself in California. The women have proved themselves a great force for good government. Their understanding of politics is surprisingly keen. On every occasion when they have thus far exercised the franchise, they have proved themselves intelligent voters. In several particular instances, the women have waged battles in this State in behalf of decency and good government that challenge the highest regard for them as voting citizens.

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Hon. Walter Clark, Chief Justice of Supreme Court of North Carolina —It is certain that the main force which opposed woman suffrage has come from the whiskey trust, the vice trust, and the political machines which have been operated with money furnished by the great interests which have derived revenues from the adulteration of food products and other abuses.

Hon. William H. Wadhams, Judge of the New York Court of General Sessions —Not only do we want the women, but we need them now in the State of New York. It is because of the difference of women that I favor woman suffrage. We in the State live in barracks, bachelor barracks. We want the women to come in to make the State what they have made the home, beautiful and lovely. I would have the power and virtue of the State made up of men and women together. Women would

receive more respect, greater admiration. There would be more sharing of power and more real companionship.

Hon. George E. Morris, Chief Justice of Supreme Court of Washington —I have no hesitation in saying that, looked at from every angle, the result of woman suffrage has been most beneficial in the State of 206 Washington, and that if the question were again submitted to the male voters of this State it would carry by a much larger majority than at the time of its submission.

Hon. William Penn Whitehouse, Chief Justice of Supreme Court of Maine —For half a century I have been an unqualified believer in the justice and expediency of equal suffrage, and I have absolute confidence that its adoption is but a natural incident in a beneficent social evolution. Our civilization can never be consistent and complete without it. The whole theory of our free institutions requires it, and the moral welfare of the people demands it. The argument in support of it is logical and unanswerable. The opposition to it is inspired by traditional prejudice, and aided by thoughtless indifference. It will never degrade or dishonor the home, but will instill the spirit of the home into the methods of government.

Hon. Charles L. Guy, Justice of Supreme Court of New York —If American men believe in democracy, if they believe in the women who gave them birth, if they believe in the women who are their comrades and companions in life, who make their homes happy, who make their lives 207 successful, who stand by them faithfully in every emergency of life, they will register their verdict—a verdict that will stand for all time—that in the eye of an American freeman the dignity of American womanhood stands side by side and the equal of the dignity of American manhood. Not man above woman, not woman above man, but man and woman side by side, comrades and companions through life's journey, and God over all and for all forever.

Hon. Townsend Scudder, Justice of Supreme Court of New York —I favor Woman suffrage because I believe it will promote better womanhood, bring woman into closer touch with the world, broaden and strengthen her mentally, and make her more serviceable in all branches of life's work.

Hon. Clarence D. Clark, U. S. Senator from Wyoming —Woman suffrage worked with wonderfully good results while the territorial form of government lasted, and when Wyoming became a State, was put into the constitution. So far as I am informed, nobody who has the interest of the State at heart has ever desired or suggested a change.

Hon. William E. Borah, U. S. Senator from Idaho —The presence of woman in 208 politics, armed with the power to enforce her demands, has been substantially for the benefit of society. It is sometimes argued that women will vote largely with their brothers or husbands, but I have

observed that there comes time upon certain questions when the husband and brothers vote with the women.

Hon. William W. Morrow, Judge of the Ninth Judicial District of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals (California) —I find that many women who did not desire to vote upon all questions, now that they have been given the right, are exercising it with a high sense of duty, and that their exercise of the right is having a beneficial influence upon political affairs. ... I am, therefore, a warm convert to equal suffrage and I sincerely hope that the influence of women at the polls will continue and that it will be increased in power and efficiency.

Hon. Ben B. Lindsey, Judge of the Denver Juvenile Court —We have in Colorado the most advanced laws of any State in the Union for the care and protection of the home and the children, the very foundation of the Republic. These laws, in my opinion, would not exist at this time if it were not for the powerful influence of woman suffrage which at all times has been back of them and those who have conscientiously and faithfully administered them.

Hon. David J. Brewer, Late Chief Justice United States Supreme Court —Female suffrage will come. Not fully and at once, but by varying steps. Woman's broader education, her increasing familiarity with business and public affairs, will lead to it. And why not? the chief reply is the home. God forbid that it should be jeopardized. But female suffrage will not debase the home or lessen its power and influence. On the other hand, it will introduce a refining and uplifting power into our political life.

Hon. Louis D. Brandeis, Justice Supreme Court of United States — The change in my opinion with respect to woman suffrage is due to the result of my own experience in the various movements with which I have been connected in which we have tried to solve the social, economic and political problems that have presented themselves from time to time. I have been more and more impressed with the difficulty and complexity of those problems, and with the power of society to solve them; but I am convinced that for their solution we must look to the many, not to the few. We need all the people, women as well as men.

Hon. C. S. Thomas, U. S. Senator from Colorado —Woman suffrage in Colorado is no longer an experiment. It has been tried, and it has risen in full measure to the expectations of those who were originally its advocates. I think, therefore, I can speak as one with authority when I say that the extension of the franchise to both sexes simply extends the area of that privilege to the limit which is demanded by the principle of universal suffrage.

Hon. John F. Shafroth, U. S. Senator from Colorado —The influence of women has always been for good, both in conventions and elections. Let a man of immoral character become a candidate for office in my State and his chances of nomination or election are very slight. Woman is not a seeker after office. She is an independent element in politics. Therefore, when she casts her vote, she votes for the candidate whom she thinks is best qualified to fill the position.

Hon. Wesley L. Jones, U. S. Senator from Washington —Never was a class so well fitted by intelligence, education, capacity, refinement, lofty motives, high 211 aspirations and native ability to receive the full power to discharge the duties of citizenship in a great nation as are the women of the United States. They demand this power and are entitled to it, not as a special privilege, but as a well-earned and well-deserved right.

Hon. Miles Poindexter, U. S. Senator from Washington —In so far as women have not exercised the right to vote they are women who are not informed about political affairs, who are indifferent about the consequences of the great political issues of the day; and the women who have voted are those who are best qualified to have the right to vote, who are the best informed and the most interested and the most concerned about the effect upon conditions, upon themselves, and upon their families of the laws which are enacted in response to the suffrage of the people at the polls.

Hon. Robert M. LaFollette, U. S. Senator from Wisconsin —I have always believed in woman suffrage to the same extent as man suffrage for the reason that the interests of men and women are not superior nor antagonistic one to the other, but are mutual and inseparable. Co-suffrage like co-education will react, not to 212 the special advantage of either men or women, but will result in a more enlightened, better balanced citizenship and truer democracy.

Hon. Moses E. Clapp, U. S. Senator from Minnesota —The time is inevitable when the American people will confer upon American womanhood the only peaceable weapon known to free government for her own protection, for the protection of her property and the protection of her children, and that is the ballot.

Hon. William H. Thompson, U. S. Senator from Kansas —I have always favored woman suffrage because I believe that under the Constitution of the United States, and under the fundamental laws, woman is justly and legally entitled to it. I look at it as much from a legal standpoint as from any other, although from a moral standpoint it can be urged with even greater force.

Hon. George E. Chamberlain, U. S. Senator from Oregon —There is no reason in the world why the women of this country should not be permitted to exercise the right of suffrage. They are the

equals of men in all that goes for the making of a better State, and they 213 are the superiors of men in all that goes to make for a higher and loftier citizenship.

Hon. Harry Lane, U. S. Senator from Oregon —The interest of women in good and bad legislation is as great as is ours. Good legislation and properly conducted government go right into the homes of the families of this country and bear directly upon the happiness, the fate, and the fortunes of the family, including the women. Naturally and logically woman should have a voice and a share in saying what manner of government should be placed upon herself and her children.

Hon. Henry F. Ashurst, U. S. Senator from Arizona —It is, or at least ought to be, an axiom of American liberty that a class of persons obedient to the laws as are the women; a class which has a peculiar care for the rights of others; a class which is taxed upon its labor and property for the support of the Government; which is liable to punishment for acts which the law makes criminal; which is patriotic, learned, and in a measure capable of the highest degree of efficiency in the useful arts and sciences; which is patient beyond estimate and constantly pouring forth costly sacrifices for the common good of the species, should not 214 be denied a voice in the enactment and enforcement of laws and concerns of the Government.

P. P. Claxton, U. S. Commissioner of Education —In the larger housekeeping interests of the city, state and nation, women have as important a function as in the housekeeping affairs of the smaller world of the home. I believe in the ballot for women on the same terms as for men.

John Purroy Mitchel, Mayor of New York —Whatever may be the outcome of the suffrage movement, it is the unmistakable trend of affairs to-day to bring women forward to positions of influence in public and social matters. Society and government progress under the stimulus of leaders of ideas and vision. If women undertake our great social problems with strength and courage, they are bound to take leadership of affairs and no opposition of men will keep them out of the field of men's work.

Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, Free Synagogue, New York City —We believe in equal suffrage because we believe in the fundamental rightness of democracy, of the wisdom and rightfulness of which, however, multitudes of anti-suffragists remain unconvinced. In proof of the anti-democratic 215 attitude of the opponents of equal suffrage, it need but be pointed out that it is often alleged that women are not fit to exercise the suffrage. The surest way to keep women unfit is to continue to deny them the right and the duty of the suffrage. Assuming for a moment that this intolerable utterance be true, who will venture to deny that no people have even been fitted for the exercise of

the franchise and the responsibilities of citizenship until after they have wrested the right to exercise the franchise and to meet citizenship's complete responsibilities?

Rev. Morgan L. Sheedy, LL.D., Rector of St. John's Cathedral, Altoona —It may take time, since the progress of the world is always slow and halting, but woman suffrage is surely coming in this State. Of that I am as firmly convinced as I am of the rising of to-morrow's sun. the wonder is that it has been delayed so long. I could never understand why so many good people are opposed to woman suffrage and raise all kinds of silly objections to it. But this is the history of all great reforms.

Rev. Joseph L. J. Kirlin, Rector of the Church of the Most Precious Blood of Our Lord, Philadelphia —I am firmly 216 convinced that the solution of many of our vexing social questions lies in giving to women the right to express their opinion by suffrage.

Right Reverend James J. Keane, Bishop of Cheyenne, Wyoming —From my large experience as a Bishop of the Catholic Church in Wyoming, where we have had woman suffrage for nearly half a century, I am convinced that women vote as honestly, conscientiously and intelligently as do men—to say the least. I also find that women are not active politicians nor office-seekers. As to the Catholic women in my diocese, I do not find that the right of suffrage has drawn them either out of their homes or out of the church.

Rt. Rev. Patrick Delany, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Hobart, Tasmania, Australia —I can speak for our Tasmanian women, and I affirm that no Tasmanian woman, Catholic or Protestant, to my knowledge—and I am fairly qualified to know—has forgotten the dignity of her sex, or her self-respect, or has done any of the other things that do befall men on such occasions and that seriously weaken their claim to exclusive fitness for the discharge of those important national services. No candidate has any chance 217 of purchasing a woman's vote in the drink shop.

The Rev. M. M. O'Kane, O.P. —Should a woman take any interest in politics? One might as well ask should she take any interest in life. ... Political life is the collective life of human beings, grouped together for the common good, and from this life and the benefits it confers, one cannot exclude women without destroying her rights as a human being and ignoring the function she has to perform in society.

The Rev. John H. O'Rourke, S.J. —The vicious interests in every case oppose Woman Suffrage. In other words, the brewers, the bummers and bosses are antis, so I am with the suffragettes. ... Men legislators have either tolerated or ruled that women receive less pay than men for the same work and that they labor longer hours than men. In many shops they have inadequate protection from fire and evils dangerous to health.

Right Rev. A. Dowling, D.D., Bishop of Des Moines —It is scarcely fair to throw at the heads of women who are seeking votes for the economic equality it will give them with men, the odious epithet 218 of Feminist who is usually an extreme type having little relation, except the most factitious, with the working women of her community. One might as well brand our ordinary voter with the excesses of the sansculottes.

The Rev. Daniel E. Hudson, C.S.C., Editor of Ave Marie —The most fatal fallacy is that irreligion is at the bottom of the feminist agitation. On the contrary, the entire tendency of the movement is profoundly religious, and betrays, apart from certain unavoidable excesses and deviations, and instinctive straining after the rules enjoined on her children by the Church. The suffragists are clamoring for moral reforms which in reality are incompatible with rejection of dogma. The closer we examine, the plainer does it appear that what is fallaciously called “Feminism” is in reality a powerful impulse towards Catholic ideals and a Catholic code of morality.

The Rev. John Talbot Smith, Dobbs Ferry, N. Y., Ex-President of the Catholic Summer School of America —From the day suffrage entered the world it became inevitable that women should enjoy it as well as men. It is the only weapon of democracy, and democracy is 219 no respecter of persons, sexes, conditions. If democracy is to succeed righteously its children must use and know best how to use the suffrage. Therefore, in due time women will vote, and it has seemed to me latterly that Providence has taken up the matter and is ordering this agitation among women.

Samuel Gompers, President, American Federation of Labor —According to the last census more than eight million women are gainfully employed. The industrial world is no place for those who cannot protect themselves. Women must learn to take their work seriously and to solve their own problems. Though their individual connection with employment may be temporary, yet the employment of women is not temporary. Women without the ballot have not the same potential reserve force as women with the ballot. Their protests, their demands, do not receive immediate consideration.

John Mitchell, Chairman of the Industrial Commission of New York —Workingmen are advocates of equal suffrage, first, because it is right that all who bear the burdens and enjoy the protection of government shall be entitled to equal participation in the affairs of government; 220 second, because they know in a vital way that without the ballot wage earning women are unable to protect themselves against wrong and the unnecessary hardships incident to and connected with our marvelous industrial development. But quite apart from economic and industrial consideration, women should be enfranchised because it would be to the best interest of the people of the

whole nation for women with their finer moral perceptions to participate actively in the affairs of government.

Frank P. Walsh, Chairman of Industrial Commission of U.S. —I call it the duty of every labor man and of every associated worker in the great cause of labor to work to the limit of his capacity and to vote for the enfranchisement of the women of every State in this Union. There is no political duty stronger than that. There is no duty to justice stronger than that, and I say to you from my deepest convictions that on no class of people of this country is that duty to vote for woman suffrage as strong as on the class of working men.

Mrs. Julian Heath, President of the Housewives' League —Just as soon as I made the Housewives' League an economic 221 factor, the woman's vote became a necessity. Whenever a cold storage bill or any bill intimately connected with the home comes up before the commissions or legislatures we of the Housewives' League are asked to give our judgment upon it. If we give our judgment, why shouldn't it be registered? The only way we know of doing that is with the ballot.

Julia Lathrop, head of the U. S. Children's Bureau —Woman suffrage is a natural and inevitable step in the march of society forward; and instead of being incompatible with child welfare, it leads towards it, and is, indeed, the next great service to be rendered for the welfare and ennoblement of the home.

Maud E. Miner, Secretary New York Probation and Protective Association —Women will be able to make the fight against the white slave traffic and prostitution more effective when they have the power to help, not only in lawmaking, but in electing public officials who shall be responsible to the people for the management of city government and for the honest and efficient enforcement of laws.

Harvey W. Wiley —The woman's organizations have always been on the right side of every public question. This is 222 good proof that their votes would be cast the same way, and that clean politics, the protection of women and children, the advancement of sanitary measures, the protection of our food and drug supply, would all receive an impetus by woman's suffrage. For these reasons, I am for it.

Florence Kelley, Secretary National Consumers' League —We make some gains for the children by the method of persuasion and petition. We must continue to use it for the sake of the children, and, also for the education which such work affords for those who engage in it. But child labor can be abolished only when the women of every State are given equal authority with men in the political, social and industrial life of this Republic.

Selma Lagerlöf —Women must enter all fields if the state is ever to be beloved like the home. We believe that the winds of God are bearing us onward, that our little master-work, the home, was our creation with the help of man. The great master-work, the state, will be perfected by man when in all seriousness he takes woman as his helper.

Dr. Josiah Morse, Professor of Psychology, University of South Carolina —Woman is not superior to man, nor is she 223 inferior to man; she is different. On account of being different this phase needs to be represented in our political life.

President McCracken of Vassar College —By nature and training I am an educationist. I find the privilege of the vote has been an educational factor in my own life. In a profession which has required, more than almost any other, the withdrawal out of the active world into the quiet library or study, my right to use the ballot has been almost the one motive which has drawn me out into real citizenship. In my capacity as teacher of men at Yale University and of women at Smith College, I have found from the point of view of education no essential difference in their grasp and mastery of intellectual problems. Any educational advantages, therefore, which belong to the one sex should, so far as I am concerned, belong properly also to the other; and since I have found the vote an educational factor on my own life, I sincerely desire that it may soon be extended to women.

Dr. Marion LeRoy Burton, President of Smith College —I certainly do want women to have all their rights. What I look forward to is the day when no woman shall be at a disadvantage because 224 of her sex, and when no woman shall be able to take an unfair advantage because of it. Both conditions exist to-day, and each is a necessary corollary of the other.

Dr. Henry R. Seager, Professor of Economics, Columbia University —Women are being forced into industrial life in large and increasing numbers. They face the same hardships and disadvantages that men face. It is unreasonable and unjust to bar them longer from participation in political activities. This is all the more true because the things which government undertakes are increasingly things with which women are even more concerned than men.

Hon. S. M. Fisher, Minister of Marine and Customs of New Zealand —A man who suggested repealing woman suffrage in New Zealand would be considered a fit subject for an insane asylum.

Sir Joseph George Ward, Premier of New Zealand —Equal suffrage enlarges women's mental horizon and inculcates tolerance.

Sir Robert Stout, Chief Justice New Zealand —Woman suffrage has been beneficial. It has interested women in questions of State, and it is difficult to estimate its educative influence.

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Archbishop Thomas O'Shea, of Welington, New Zealand —Woman suffrage has been in operation in New Zealand for 25 years, and every one of those 25 years has been marked by progress towards better government. I can say from experience that the votes of the women of New Zealand have done much to improve the living conditions. Women were in the forefront in bringing about arbitration of strikes, child-labor abolition, regulated hours for workers and other reforms that have improved the conditions of workers. New Zealand women have not shown any desire to take men's places in the world. Man and wife go to the polls together, cast their ballots and return to their homes.

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From Statement Given to New York Tribune, October 26, 1915

We, the signers of this statement, declaring our intention to vote for the amendment, belong to various political parties, but we are untied in our desire to have our state true to the fundamental principles of democracy. We believe that a people is greater when it follows gladly and bravely its underlying convictions than when the its political life is inertia and causeless timidity. We believe it is bad for a democracy to put a check on the aspirations of a large portion of its citizens. We believe that women should vote, and that the community will derive an appreciable advantage when they do vote.

Jacob Gould Schurman

Adolph Lewisohn

Herbert Parsons

Charles L. Guy

Wm. A. Prendergast

John Mitchell

Egbert E. Woodbury

John K. Sague

Robert Adamson

Samuel Untermyer

Frederick M. Davenport

Dudley Field Malone

Norman Hapgood

William G. Willcox

Sam'l McCune Lindsay

James Lees Laidlaw

Ogden M. Reid

Frederick C. Howe

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The Woman's Protest

Women are citizens. No one denies that fact; for the constitution of the United States, the law which supersedes all law, declares them citizens. The Government of our Nation and of all the States recognizes women's responsibility and forces them to bear the burdens of citizenship.

No American dreadnaught is there upon the seas, no army camp on land, no police guarding our cities, no courts of law, no post offices, nor other part of the government's organized system of protection of our national peace and welfare, but has been made possible by the taxes paid by women.

Not only are our institutions maintained in large degree by women's taxes, but the peace, prosperity and progress of our land rests upon their law-abiding loyalty.

THE HOME, the *woman citizen's* especial sphere, is the acknowledged cornerstone of our Republic.

THE SCHOOL, maintained in large part *by women citizens*, is the acknowledged conservator of a self-governing nation. It is the “melting pot” wherein old world traditions are transformed into new world ideals. It is the protector of present liberties and the sole guarantor of future Americanism.

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THE CHURCH, supported and upheld in large measure by *women citizens*, is the teacher of those moral ideals which are the acknowledged safeguard of our civilization.

Should these services go unperformed, our Republic would be precipitated to tottering ruin. Yet to these women who have so faithfully borne the burdens of citizenship our government denies its privileges and visits upon them an absurd oppressive wrong—that of disfranchisement in a nation of self-governing people.

The most flagrant crime known to nations is treason. When our government sought for a penalty commensurate with the heinousness of this offense, it found *disfranchisement*. When states searched for a suitable punishment for bribery and crime, they found *disfranchisement*. This penalty is put upon the enemies of civilization because they are moral or mental defectives.

Into this group minors are placed *temporarily* because they are supposed not to have attained their intellectual growth; but at 21 every day automatically escapes and becomes a voter. Aliens are placed in this group *temporarily*, but after a brief residence of five years our National Government provides for their citizenship, and the State constitutions automatically extend the vote.

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Even the traitor, the criminal, and the briber may be, and often are, pardoned and thus are restored to equal rights with other citizens; but for woman there is no open door to political liberty. For them alone is disfranchisement perpetual. No test of intelligence, wealth, virtue or service is permitted by means of which women may qualify for the vote.

Against this unpardonable tyranny hundreds of thousands of women have protested in vain for more than a generation.

Once more we *declare* that government to be unjust which taxes and governs half its people without their consent. Others are disfranchised for incapacity; women without reason or excuse.

We *declare* that government to be inexcusably inconsistent which tolerates so preposterous a discrimination as that of putting a vote into the hands of male paupers and at the same time denying that privilege to at least one-third of its tax-payers; of counting the opinion of ignorant or

even illiterate men, while denying that right to intelligent, educated women; of permitting men of all lands to determine by a ballot's share, every policy of our nation after a five years' residence, while denying it to the daughters of the founders of the Republic.

We *declare* that government to be unsound which is obligated by its national constitution 230 to promote the general welfare of the people, yet pays no heed to what half its people want.

We *declare* a Republic professing self-government to be guilty of deliberate oppression when it elevates half its people, regardless of qualifications, to sovereignty over the nation, and condemns the other half to political subjection. In such a nation self-government becomes a travesty and a farce.

We protest against the continuance of this wrong against women; and appeal to Congress for relief by the immediate submission to the legislatures of the several states of an amendment to the Federal Constitution protecting women in the citizen's right to vote.

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Twelve Reasons Why Women Should Vote

1. BECAUSE those who obey the laws should help to choose those who make the laws.
2. BECAUSE laws affect women as much as men.
3. BECAUSE laws which affect women are now passed without consulting them.
4. BECAUSE laws affecting children should include the woman's point of view as well as the man's.
5. BECAUSE laws affecting the home are voted on in every session of the legislature.
6. BECAUSE women have experience which would be helpful to legislation.
7. BECAUSE to deprive women of the vote is to lower their position in common estimation.
8. BECAUSE having the vote would increase the sense of responsibility among women toward questions of public importance.

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9. BECAUSE public-spirited mothers make public-spirited sons.

10. BECAUSE about 8,000,000 women in the United States are wage workers, and the conditions under which they work are controlled by law.

11. BECAUSE the objections against their having the vote are based on prejudice, not on reason.

12. BECAUSE to sum up all reasons in one— *it is for the common good of all.*

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Have We a Democracy?

The Democratic spirit, the spirit of self-government, is one of slow growth. It was foreshadowed in the republic of Plato, that great philosopher whose vision extended far into the future. It raised a barely audible voice in England when the Magna Charta gave the first clearly defined rights to the English people. From that time on its tones have become louder and clearer until it thundered forth in the Declaration of Independence when a new, free nation was born.

There are three foundation principles which embody this democratic spirit today:

First—"No taxation without representation." This principle was recognized in the Magna Charta and was made the battle cry in our American Revolution.

Second—"Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." This is the "self-evident truth" in the preamble to the Declaration of Independence, and is the rock on which our republic is built.

The third foundation principle was voiced by Lincoln when he said "that this nation under God should have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by 234 the people, and for the people, should not perish from the earth."

Acknowledging, then, that democracy stands on these three principles, does our government today stand on them? No. Each of these fundamentals is falsified in respect to women, for they are governed without their consent; they are taxed without being represented, and one-half the people governs the whole people. It follows, then, that our government today is not a real democracy. It is not one of self-government, but of sex-government. Today, the call is for more democracy, not less—a real democracy, not a partial one. It demands *votes for men and women*. "Ballots for both." This is the strongest argument for woman suffrage, that the basic principles of our government demand it.

Unless women's votes are included, this government is but a travesty of self-government, a betrayal of the democratic spirit.

A true democracy can only be built out of the vast mine of knowledge held in the hands and hearts of *all* its individual citizens. In it the interests of no human soul should be neglected.

The subject of democracy has been discussed by many distinguished men. Mr. Taft says: "Government is a human instrumentality to secure the greatest good to the greatest number and the greatest happiness 235 to the individual. Experience has shown that, in the long run, *every class* of people are better able to secure attention to their welfare than any other class, *however altruistic* the latter class may be. Hence it follows that the best government is the one in which every class has a voice." If this statement is true, then *women's interest* demand a voice in government.

President Wilson in the "New Freedom" writes: "I don't want a smug lot of experts to sit down behind closed doors in Washington and play Providence to me. If any part of our people want to be wards; if they want to have guardians put over them; if they want to be taken care of; if they want to be children, patronized by the government, why, I am sorry, because it will *sap the manhood* of America." If this be true, it will *sap the womanhood* of America, unless woman also is *self-governing*.

Mr. Eliot, ex-President of Harvard College, said in a speech in 1914: "Universal suffrage prolongs in the United States the effect of *universal education* for it stimulates all citizens throughout their lives to reflect on problems outside the narrow circle of their private interests and occupations, to *read* about public questions, to discuss public characters, and to hold themselves ready in some degree to give a rational account of their *political* faith." Do 236 not *women* citizens likewise need this *education* of the suffrage?

Dr. Denney declares: "Rights have always been extended on high grounds of public justice and morality and in recognition of personality. The case does not rest finally on the wishes of the set of people to benefited or upon the use they will make of the privilege. It rests finally upon the *moral obligations of a free state to recognize a person as a person*. There would be no benefit secured in an election by having two votes cast instead of one unless each of these votes represented a *separate mind and will*." Hence women need the ballot because *they* are *human* beings.

Prof. Arbuthnot writes that the extension of the suffrage to the *working man* led to the redress of a whole series of grievances under which the poor suffered: (1) It brought about the general establishment of free public schools; (2) the abolition of imprisonment for debt; (3) the abolition of an oppressive militia system which bore hard on the poor, but allowed a rich man to buy himself off; (4) it secured liberal homestead laws; (5) it protected the workingmen by a mechanics' lien law and

a mass of other labor legislation. In gaining all of these, the workingman with a ballot in his hands has been the substantial force. Legislators listen to the voice of the people when 237 they are able to speak at the polls, No one can believe that the gains made by the workingmen through legislation would have come as fast or gone as far if they had not been given the suffrage.

Does not the wage-earning woman likewise need the ballot for her protection?

Finally, inasmuch as "women are one-half of the human race, the teachers of a large part of the race, the mothers of all the race, *the welfare* of the *race* demands that the experience of women be utilized politically, be voiced directly and be recordered by voting individually." Then and then only will our government be a true democracy, a government of the men and women people, by the men and women people and for the men and women people.

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4. Results in first four Equal Suffrage States of United States.

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5. Results in the Landslide States, 1910-'14.

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2. **Women's Interests** need the protection of the ballot, pp. 147, 235. Women Wage-earners need this weapon, pp. 123, 224, 236.

3. "American women need the vote to **protect** the **Home**," Jane Addams, p. 110. *a.* Home is no longer enclosed in four walls, p. 110. *b.* An adequate code of legislation also needed, p. 112. *c.* To safeguard the schools and children, p. 117. *d.* To better street conditions, p. 120. *e.* The vote is a **direct** method of **home** protection, pp. 125-129, 221.
4. It will increase the proportion of intelligent, moral and native-born voters, pp. 141, 149.
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